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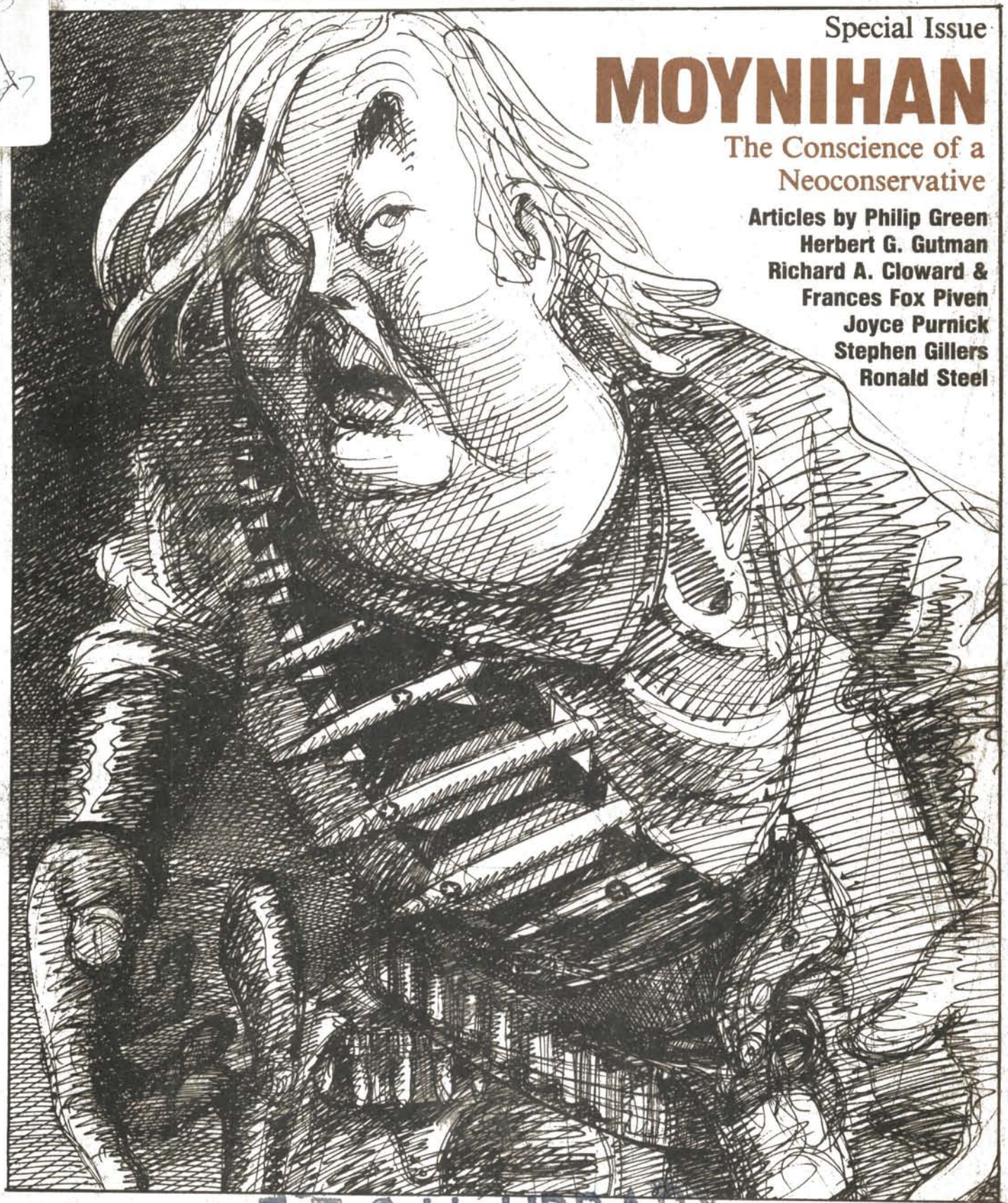
The Nation. September 22, 1979 $1

Special Issue

MOYNIHAN

The Conscience of a Neoconservative

Articles by Philip Green
Herbert G. Gutman
Richard A. Cloward &
Frances Fox Piven
Joyce Purnick
Stephen Gillers
Ronald Steel



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LETTERS.

SALT AND THE ALLIANCE

Aptos, Calif.

Alan Wolfe's "SALT and the U.S.-Soviet Alliance" [*The Nation,* June 23] statement that "sane people must urge support of SALT II" hardly follows from his analysis of the consequences of approval, on the one hand, or rejection, on the other.

Wolfe points out, correctly, I believe, that rejection of the treaty will result in: (*1*) a shift in U.S. defense spending from conventional arms toward exotic nuclear systems; (*2*) a drop in the actual level of defense spending; (*3*) an end to the move to reinstate the draft; (*4*) fewer actual hostilities between the superpowers.

Approval of SALT II, according to Wolfe, will result in: (*1*) limitations on new nuclear weapons; (*2*) a buildup of conventional arms; (*3*) a sharp increase in the defense budget; (*4*) a return to the draft; (*5*) increased likelihood of direct American military involvement in the Third World.

Wolfe contends that reliance on strategic weapons results in reduced flexibility to "secure the vital U.S. interests in Third World resources." Russia will accede to these American military adventures in return for U.S. assurance that we will not interfere with Soviet actions to retain its vital economic and political interests.

What, then, are we to make of this analysis and conclusion? If Wolfe's analysis is correct, I, for one, would prefer the consequences of rejection of SALT II. I want to see a drop in defense spending, an end to plans for reviving the draft, a world with fewer direct U.S.-Soviet confrontations.

I do not agree that the interests of the American people (much less the peoples of the Third World) are advanced by granting the military additional flexibility to secure or retain U.S. economic control over the resources of the Third World.

Bud R. Hutchinson

Norwood, N.J.

To Alan Wolfe, concerning his article on SALT, please extend my appreciation for his plea that "sane people must urge support of SALT II, whatever its absurdities."

Unfortunately, his half-sentence contribution is buried in thirty-one paragraphs of "dialectical" immaterialism.

Again, thanks for even grudged-out support for SALT II, though some of us had been led to expect greater competence from Mr. Wolfe. *I. Kleinman*

NATO NOTED

White Plains, N.Y.

Writing on "NATO at 30" [*The Nation,* May 26], Norman Birnbaum expresses many complex and contradictory opinions. On the one hand, his tone is predominantly hawkish: "NATO . . . has done more than dampen the adventurism of the Soviet hawks: it has provided a military shield which has enabled the Western democracies to influence Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself." On the other hand, continues Birnbaum, this influence has been "most palpable when military tension has been minimal. . . ."

The two assertions cannot both be true. Notwithstanding the current plans for a 3 percent annual rise in NATO expenditures until 1985 (unmentioned by Birnbaum), a military balance between East and West in Europe is here to stay. The only choices open to us in the West are the level of armaments (and hence the level of military tension) and thereby the degree of social intercourse possible between East and West in the years to come.

Obviously, the way to maximize the latter is to negotiate progressive reductions in the level of armaments and therefore in military tension.

Morton H. Frank

San Francisco

Norman Birnbaum is very clear on his attitude toward the Soviet Union, but leaves this "sclerotic" old reader baffled on a most important point. I hope he will clear it up for me and whoever else may have shaken his head over it.

He tells us, "There are 7,000 nuclear weapons in Western Europe, nearly all American." Following this, "Specifically they [the Europeans] are worried because the present SALT II draft would leave the Soviet Union with missiles that could strike European targets, while leaving the Europeans without retaliatory land-based missiles."

Is he telling us that President Carter accepted an arrangement in SALT II that would deprive NATO of the 7,000 missiles while no comparable concession has been made by the Soviet Union? Did Professor Birnbaum have access to that document? Or a pipe through which that startling fact was leaked?

His answer will help clear up the confusion those contradictions caused, I am sure, in a lot of other sclerotic minds besides mine. *Lester Cole*

BIRNBAUM REPLIES

Amherst, Mass.

Perhaps the contradiction and complexity found by Mr. Frank in my article on NATO come from a certain role conflict. On the one hand, I am a member of the Editorial Board of *The Nation*, and therefore an authentic dove. On the other, I am a consultant to the National Security Council, and, ex officio, more hawkish. However, I can reassure my readers: I haven't been consulted. That is one hypothesis. Another hypothesis is that reality itself is complex.

NATO was initiated when the Soviet Union was weakened by World War II, and had no immediate prospect of attaining parity in nuclear weapons with the United States. There is no doubt that, then as now, a hawkish group in the NATO nations exaggerated the Soviet Union's aggressive intentions and capabilities.

That much said, we should be naïve to suppose that there is no division between hawks and doves (however crude the terms) in the Soviet leadership itself—a conflict which interacts with other issues like the question of "liberalization." NATO did serve to moderate the enthusiasm of the Soviet hawks for adventurism in Europe. A military policy that rests on a static view of politics, however, is bound to fail. That is why we need to press forward with discussions with the Soviet Union on force reductions in Europe. For the moment, interestingly, the German Social Democrats have taken the lead in this respect.

The reference to the nuclear weapons which perplexes Mr. Cole is to tactical nuclear weapons whose range is not such that they can strike Soviet territory from Western Europe. These are not covered, in any event, by SALT II. I note that Mr. Cole is disturbed by my reference to the age and physical condition of the Soviet leaders. I hasten to correct any misimpression I may have given. Their basic affliction is their hostility to freedom. *Norman Birnbaum*

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EDITORIALS.

The Perils of Pat

Why is this man on our cover? Daniel Patrick Moynihan is, after all, the sort of "flamboyant," "puckish," eminently quotable cover-boy favored by *Time* and *The New York Times Magazine* (which has profiled him six times), among other establishment journals. But why devote an entire issue of *The Nation* to the junior Senator from New York?

The answer is not merely that Moynihan's ability as a media manipulator (ably analyzed by Joyce Purnick in "A Media Star Is Born," page 239) makes the dissection of the man behind the image all the more urgent. Nor is it that he has acquired a kind of permanent dark-horse status in the Democratic Presidential stable, although Morton Kondracke was undoubtedly right when he wrote in *The New Republic*: "If there is not yet a Moynihan campaign, there is a Moynihan movement and a Moynihan logic."

But at this juncture, the Moynihan trail to the White House is at best only faintly visible. Ted Kennedy and Jerry Brown would first have to knock out of the race a sitting President who has more strength (especially given the "reforms" in the delegate selection process) than many pundits understand, and then they would have to destroy or deadlock each other. But if a deadlock should develop . . . well, enter the patient dark horse, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the slum kid with the tastes of a peer, the unmeltable ethnic, the Irishman with a Jewish constituency, the Democrat who worked in the Nixon White House, the urban expert with the international dimension, the New York Democrat who turns out to be the mouthpiece of neoconservatism itself. In short, just the man to stand up to John Connally or Ronald Reagan.

That is the fast track, but there is another track, the one that proceeds by way of the Vice Presidency. Here too, Moynihan's big-state alignment, his ethnic appeal, his fund-raising capability and his neoconservative credentials are the stuff balanced tickets are made of—especially if headed by a Carter or a Brown. The courtier par excellence, the man who served under J.F.K., L.B.J., Gerald Ford and Richard

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Nixon with hardly a tuck in his conscience, might be expected to leap at such an offer like a political Nijinsky.

To sum up the Moynihan-for-President vision we can do no better than quote from Peter Steinfels's trenchant study, *The Neoconservatives*:

> But 1980 need only be a trial run. Moynihan is only fifty-two. Sooner or later he will be a contender. With his formidable intellect, his gift for language, his alternating fits of candor, flattery, and evasiveness, his ability to provoke enmity, and his own considerable capacity for bitter resentment and retaliation, Moynihan would be no common candidate but a figure more reminiscent of a Disraeli, a Clemenceau, a Lloyd George. Moynihan marching toward the Presidency is a prospect to entrance the dramatist. Whether the citizen ought to feel the same way is another question.

But Moynihan is more than a favorite son with an oval fantasy. The Senator is the point man for an increasingly visible, vocal and, given the current structure of American politics, powerful intellectual movement: the neoconservatives, who cloak conservative conclusions in the language of liberalism. The issues on which he has climbed to power constitute the neoconservative platform and deserve critical scrutiny. Among them are: the willingness to sacrifice the poor for the sake of lower taxes for the middle class in the guise of "welfare reform" (see "The Welfare Vaudevillian" by Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, page 236); the attribution of responsibility for the situation of the black underclass to the structure of the Negro family (see "Black History Seduced and Abandoned" by Herbert G. Gutman, page 232); a cold-war insensitivity to Third World nationalism (see Ronald Steel's review of *A Dangerous Place,* page 245); a "fair-minded" approach to that most conservative of all institutions, the judiciary (see Stephen Gillers's report on Moynihan's judge-picking, "Judgeships on the Merits," page 242), and the flashy use of pseudoscholarship as the solution to practical problems of public policy (see "The Wayward Social Scientist" by Philip Green, page 231). The unstable amalgam of the scholar-politician may indeed be the key to understanding the Moynihan career—a career that is important wherever it ends because it incarnates the contradictions and drift which beset contemporary American politics.

The Found Brigade

In the latest in the series of flaps over the Russian presence in Cuba, has everyone forgotten Henry Kissinger's overblown "crisis" of 1970? That one was about a projected or suspected submarine base the Soviet Union was said to be building at Cienfuegos, down the road a piece from our own little military enclave at Guantánamo Bay. The resolution of that particular post-1962 missile crisis "crisis" was that, after some quiet diplomacy in which the U.S. Government informed the Kremlin that it regarded this installation as a violation of the 1962 agreement, even though no missiles were involved, the U.S.S.R. told Richard Nixon in October that it was stopping construction at Cienfuegos, and it did. It was all done behind the scenes with none of the hurrah, breast-beating and virile posturing that mark the current "combat brigade crisis."

The latest Cuban "crisis" is a failure of intelligence, not so much of the snooping kind as of rationality and common sense. It is also a political failure, as evidenced by the exploiting of this affair in a most irresponsible way by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church, normally a sensible Senator. His behavior cannot be excused by the fact that he is in a rough re-election contest in Idaho; it might be recalled that when Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas faced electoral problems, he tended to revert to benighted Southern attitudes on the race question. This was hardly admirable, but he never demagogued from his position as Foreign Relations Committee chairman. The "combat brigade" matter would not have got to its present messy state of quasi-confrontation without the political fiddling of Church and Senator Richard Stone of Florida, with his large Cuban anti-Castro constituency. Their magnification of the incident has roused the seemingly tranquilized opposition to SALT II. In an editorial headed "Reject SALT Now," *The Wall Street Journal* of September 11 wildly sounded the alarm about future Soviet intentions "to land troops on Long Beach or Long Island."

"The United States," warns Church, "cannot permit the island to become a Russian military base, ninety miles from our shores." Of course not, but clearly that is not what the Russians are up to. There is the simple fact, first of all, that some such unit has been in Cuba for years, perhaps as many as seventeen, and that only political heat has caused the "intelligence community" to "upgrade" it into the scary-sounding "combat brigade."

The New York Times of September 9 has a blandly revealing sentence about what the U.S. Government wants to do about it: "The Administration would like to be sure that the brigade has no offensive mission outside Cuba." What mission of that sort could it possibly have? Obviously, it is there for altogether different purposes—either as part of Castro's own praetorian guard, as a "tripwire" against a conceivable U.S. invasion, or to protect the U.S.S.R. electronic listening installations there, which official America regards as an outrageous intrusion but which we aim at them from all over the place. Nevertheless, we can expect to be repeatedly told that indeed the brigade has no "offensive" aims or capabilities and that Moscow swears to that. It should be recalled that Stalin was a great admirer of spheres of influence; his successors, dismissing Khrushchev's eccentric missile adventure in Cuba and its humbling denouement, have shown a similar respect for the boundaries of the famous spheres. That humbling of the U.S.S.R. led directly "to the huge buildup of the entire Soviet military establishment," as *Time* notes in its September 17 issue.

Carter's response to all this has been, characteristically, both tough and soft. He has called it "a very serious matter" and declared that "the status quo is not acceptable," while simultaneously proclaiming that "this is a time for firm diplomacy, not panic and not exaggeration." He also very sensibly, if futilely, sought to sever the dangerous linkage

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being proposed by Senate hard-liners between the removal of the troops and the passage of SALT II. What he might have done, and did not do, was to anticipate the political firestorm over the brigade and to make a *démarche* to the U.S.S.R. weeks ago. Then he would have had an action to report when the storm broke, and could plausibly have demanded public restraint while the diplomats did their thing. It is probably hard to think of such routine steps of sensible government while you're waving at crowds from the deck of a paddle-wheel steamer.

So here we are again, "eyeball to eyeball" with the Russians over Cuba, as Dean Rusk memorably said about the 1962 crisis, which was real. Only this time it is hard to see how the Russians can be made to "blink" and remove their offending (as against "offensive") brigade. It seems more likely that Carter will have to blink back a tear of frustration and humiliation, mistily watching his public standing shrink still further. In that event, the nation will still be just as "secure" as it was before this reinforced regiment grew into a "combat brigade" and was finally discovered.

And, naturally, no one in Washington is talking about the only real way out of this incident and its inevitable successors—normalizing relations with Cuba and thus giving Castro incentives not to strut his own forces and those of his powerful allies in our backyard, "just ninety miles from our shores."

Diesel Decision

By the end of this month, the Environmental Protection Agency will hand down two important decisions that will signal the depth of its commitment to protecting the public health. The decisions will set emissions standards for diesel automobiles and small trucks, and under the Clean Air Act amendments of 1977 the agency is charged with promulgating standards that are as stringent as current emissions-control technology allows. The E.P.A. will also decide whether to grant the request of five diesel manufacturers for a waiver on the 1981-84 nitrogen oxide standard.

The pollution potential of diesel engines in cars and light trucks is not widely understood. These engines emit more than fifty times as many respirable particles as the gasoline engine. This fine particulate matter, virtually invisible to the naked eye, can penetrate deeply into the lungs and may pass through the bloodstream to other parts of the body. If American auto manufacturers go into diesel-car making in a major way, so that 25 percent of new cars made are diesels (to use an outside and iffy projection by the E.P.A.), then the additional pollution in the atmosphere could cause 625 more cancer deaths a year, according to the E.P.A.

Such a prospect is a long way off, but a decision by the E.P.A. acceptable to the auto companies could certainly hasten the day. General Motors Corporation, the only American manufacturer now making a diesel car, has announced that it plans to increase production of diesel cars and trucks from its present 5 percent to 15-25 percent of its total sales by 1985. Consequently, it is vigorously pressing the diesel case before the E.P.A. Environmentalists, on the other hand, warn of the health problems a rise in diesel fumes could create in urban areas. The E.P.A. is an agency on the defensive. As a result of the past summer's gasoline lines and continuing concern about the energy shortage, the agency is particularly vulnerable to charges that it is holding up oil-saving measures by stringent enforcement of environmental standards.

Realizing E.P.A.'s vulnerability, G.M. is touting the fuel-economy advantages of the diesel (25 percent better mileage, on the average, than the gasoline engine) and proclaims that its wider adoption by the motoring public would "benefit the nation's balance of trade" by reducing our dependence on foreign oil. The company argues that while there are some unanswered questions about diesel exhausts, there is no "significant health hazard." What G.M. neglects to say—and the major reason behind its decision to go into diesels—is that with more stringent fuel-economy standards in the cards for the mid-1980s, diesels will enable it to continue production of the large six-passenger cars that generate the highest profits.

Clearly, much is at stake here for G.M., and it has some powerful friends in court. Representative John Dingell, the Michigan Democrat who is chairman of the influential House Subcommittee on Energy and Power and whose district includes Detroit, has sided with the automobile companies and the United Auto Workers in their attacks on auto emissions standards. Recently, he accused E.P.A. of an "apparent bias against the diesel" and threatened "legislative action" if the agency did not do right by G.M. in its pending decision.

E.P.A.'s recent track record does not encourage those who hope it will impose tough emissions standards in the diesel case. In the past few months it has delayed imposing stricter carbon monoxide-emissions standards on the auto manufacturers and has also allowed high-sulfur coal, postponed for a year the phaseout of lead in gasoline and reversed an earlier ban on the fuel additive M.M.T. Environmental advocates such as Clarence Ditlow, director of Ralph Nader's Center for Auto Safety, accuse E.P.A. of being a tool of the James Schlesinger Department of Energy, while Dr. Samuel Epstein, author of *The Politics of Cancer*, has shrewdly observed that the agency failed to line up support on the diesel health issue from such bureaucratic powerhouses as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the National Cancer Institute. The agency should also be compelled to bring more environmentalists into the hearing process to counter the auto industry's phalanx of expert witnesses. If E.P.A. should cave in as a result of external pressure and internal weakness, it will be guilty of letting the public health in our cities.

STEVEN KARGMAN

Steven Kargman, a student intern at The Nation *this past summer, is studying at Swarthmore College.*

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SECOND THOUGHTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS

As the Presidential election of 1980 draws nearer, an odd assortment of "maverick" candidates have emerged, including a convict serving a long sentence in a Federal maximum-security prison (see: McWilliams, "Second Thoughts," *The Nation*, May 5). Mavericks are not a new phenomenon; a certain number have always stepped forth, out of vanity or nuttiness or a sense of humor or a genuine feeling that they wanted to be seriously considered. But this time there are many more mavericks; popular dissatisfaction is greater and the primary nominating systems encourage self-propelled candidates.

The latest maverick to enter the lists is Donald R. Beagle, a welder from Nederland, Texas, who was born in West Virginia, and graduated from Morris Harvey College there. While campaigning in his native state recently, Beagle was interviewed by Mark Ward of *The Charleston Gazette*. The slogan emblazoned on his suitcase, MEN-USA, explains his candidacy. MEN-USA is an existing organization which thinks of itself as the men's answer to women's liberation. It plans to stage a march on Washington on Father's Day next year to "support the reunion of the family." Obviously enjoying life out on the hustings, Beagle is quite serious in his advocacy of men's rights as a means of restoring family unity. And there will be other mavericks, many of them, between now and the conventions next year.

The basic explanation for the prevalence of mavericks is implicit in the recent action of Lionel Kunst, a successful businessman in Kansas City, Mo., who paid for full-page advertisements in several newspapers expressing strenuous dissatisfaction with the candidates who have thus far announced or been mentioned as "available" for nomination. In the ad, Kunst, an admirer of the late Adlai Stevenson, solicited support for his efforts to flush out candidates who more clearly measure up to the responsibilities of the office than those thus far mentioned. CBS thought the initiative was of sufficient interest to air on its national network program of August 11, and the response Kunst's ad received justifies their conclusion.

A superficial explanation of why there is so much dissatisfaction with the current roster of candidates is that Senator Edward Kennedy is not among them. The Senator is extremely popular among Democrats and the polls show him enjoying a clear margin of preference over the Republican contenders now in the field. But unless President Carter finally decides not to seek re-election, which is unlikely, Senator Kennedy may not be available. In a setting in which Carter's stock continues to decline, this uncertainty breeds anxiety. Democratic candidates do not relish the prospect of running for re-election with Carter at the head of the ticket. The Republicans, of course, are elated but less concerned than they should be with selecting a candidate of greater competence and appeal than, say, Reagan, Ford or Connally.

Kennedy's popularity aside—and his index rating naturally soars as Carter's declines—is he the kind of person the people would really like to see in the White House? Of course, he would be a godsend to hard-pressed Democrats seeking re-election, but does he have the qualities the people seek? Perhaps so; but many Americans, including those who warmly applaud mention of his name, are troubled by a feeling of uncertainty. No doubt they would prefer him to most of the other candidates, but a haunting if unexpressed concern remains. And the problem of selection is complicated by the manner in which we now nominate candidates for the Presidency.

Newton Minow, in *The Wall Street Journal* of August 13, explains why. Presidential primaries were designed to take the nomination away from evil bosses in smoke-filled rooms and give the decision directly to the voters. Delegates are now chosen by direct election in some thirty-six state primaries, but this has given rise to new kinds of bosses: the well-financed pollsters and the direct-mail experts and media consultants. Turnout at most primary elections is low; independents and moderates seldom cast ballots. It is the extremists of right and left and the single-issue buffs who participate most actively. New Hampshire has 488,870 eligible voters but only 82,381 participated in the 1976 primary, which Carter won with 23,373 votes. In some 1976 primaries the turnout was as low as 11 percent of registered voters; the average turnout was probably less than 40 percent.

Minow concludes that the present system of selecting delegates in the primaries should be modified, and the prevailing widespread dissatisfaction confirms his view. He proposes four changes: (*1*) Each state would require every voter to register either as a party member or as an independent. (*2*) Only voters who are affiliated with a party would be allowed to vote in that party's primary. (*3*) Independent voters would receive a separate independent ballot listing all the Presidential candidates; the voter could vote for only one. This vote would be tabulated and would be advisory to the parties as an expression of independent voters' preferences. (To this I would like to see added a none-of-the-above line that independent voters might mark.) (*4*) If fewer than two-thirds of the eligible *party* voters voted in the primary, the delegates who received the highest number of votes would be free to cast a ballot for whomever they chose at the convention. And even if two-thirds did vote, delegates would be bound to vote for the candidate who received the most votes only on the first ballot.

The chief merit of Minow's proposal is that it would give independent voters, who may well constitute a majority, a chance to voice their preferences. It would also restore a measure of give-and-take and consultation and negotiation at the convention. But it would not insure that the system was flushing out the right kind of candidates—those who really measure up to the awesome specifications of the office. Even so, it would be preferable to the primary system as it functions today. □

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ARTICLES.

PROFESSOR AS POLITICIAN

The Wayward Social Scientist

PHILIP GREEN

It is a common reaction to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan that one cannot think about him, let alone write about him, without engaging in a vicarious personal encounter of a kind that is rare in the arena of representative politics. A great many people find the man deeply and personally offensive, even though on many counts he is a very good Senator (see the article by Stephen Gillers in this issue), a good representative of his constituency and delightfully adept at wittily puncturing other people's pretenses. He is a demagogue, of course, but so was Estes Kefauver, greatly admired by many people who knew him for what he was; so is Gov. Jerry Brown, but the scorn many feel for him is purely political—we could care less about him as a person. Moynihan is also a dangerous cold warrior, with a primitive and primarily emotional view of the alleged threat to our survival posed by the Soviet Union, but so is Henry Jackson, who is merely boring; even Jesse Helms seems somewhat comical (in the Senator Claghorn tradition) by comparison.

The impact that Senator Moynihan makes on many of us can best be understood, I think, if I approach him as a social scientist, a profession he and I share. If there is one unifying thread to the criticisms directed at Moynihan in this issue of *The Nation,* it is that assessments of Daniel Patrick Moynihan as a politician invariably become discussions of him as a social scientist: an odd but revealing inversion of our usual priorities in evaluating political men.

Two recent events in Moynihan's career seem to me to be exemplary. In November 1978 the Senator published an article, excerpted in both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post,* in which he lectured Americans, and especially the State Department, for using the vocabulary of "our enemies" to describe the political situation in Zimbabwe Rhodesia. Beginning with a ritualistic gesture to George Orwell's famous essay on political language, and a pedantic reference to a RAND Corporation paper by former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Fred Ikle, Moynihan then charged that "democracy is under assault from totalitarians masquerading as democrats"; that we are confronted in Zimbabwe Rhodesia by "enemies of freedom," "Marxists" who "certainly espouse a totalitarian doctrine"; that our policy makers ought to learn "the difference between national liberation and the progressive brutalization of politics which is being carried on by the Soviets in the name of national liberation"; and that we ought to remember proudly that we are the champions of "self-determination and representative government."

Rhetoric aside, it is possible to make out a case for some of these points. It is not possible, however, for a serious social scientist (the kind, that is, who quotes the RAND Corporation) to confuse the tribal divisions among Zimbabwe blacks with cold-war ideological divisions; to assume that the acceptance of Soviet arms makes nations or groups "totalitarian" (Egypt?); to assert without further ado that either Joshua Nkomo or Robert Mugabe are "totalitarians"; or generally to ignore the historical fact that but for people calling themselves "Marxists" and getting arms aid from the Communist world, much of Africa would still be one vast colony. Nor is it possible for a serious social scientist to imagine the longtime brutality of the Smith regime in Rhodesia being easily exceeded by anyone, even terroristic guerrillas; or that something that can be called "democracy" is under assault in a nation whose Constitution, ratified by a minority, insures that minority's continuing rule; or that there would ever have been even the sham of "representation" that now exists had it not become necessary for a tyrannical government of foreign conquerors to respond to, precisely, a war of national liberation. In short, the academic know-it-all, explaining to those benighted clowns in the State Department how to use political words properly, is in reality a political know-nothing.

Similarly, a few weeks later the Senator was quoted as saying that the reported results of an experimental income-maintenance program in Seattle cast doubt on the idea, once espoused by him, of guaranteed family income. The real social scientists who had done the study had quite properly reported that its results were at worst ambiguous, and in some respects possibly positive. Specifically, the program had enabled many wives to be retrained for entry into new careers, and in many cases marital breakups had resulted. Any unthinking person (or demagogue) could see in this the "decline of the family." A social scientist would have to point out, first, that many of these families had apparently already been in a very shaky state, and had been held together only by the enforced dependence of the wives; and, second, that most social scientists (and politicians) in their own lives do not value the kind of marriages that had been put under strain in Seattle. Again, however, the Senator used his weighty persona as the knowledgeable academic social scientist to get publicity for an "analysis" that a genuine professional could never have made.

That Senator Moynihan is a poseur might at first seem unremarkable: how many politicians are not? Only the most naïve among us thought that Adlai Stevenson was really another Edmund Wilson, or that Robert Kennedy was Danilo Dolci in American dress. People who devote their lives to professional politics, after all, are never anything but what they are. They stake out a claim to being special by adopting the stance of the intellectual, or humanitarian, or whatever. Thus they signal to us the way in which they will be at least slightly distinctive, the particular interests they will be most hospitable to. If we take their poses to be more than that, the fault is ours alone.

Unhappily, Daniel Patrick Moynihan is different. He also is a professional politician, to be sure. But he comes to politics out of another world, that of the professional social scientist, and he advances his political cause by implicitly claiming to be of that other world: to

Philip Green, a member of The Nation's *Editorial Board, teaches Government at Smith College.*

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have a depth of knowledge, and the capacity for doing a certain kind of analysis not available to ordinary politicians (or even ordinary intellectuals and journalists). But the implicit claim is an implicit lie.

The world of the academic, even of the social scientist—even of the *committed* social scientist—is defined not by how much we know but rather by adherence to certain professional standards. Facts are to be respected; the canons of logical argument are to be observed; concepts are to be invoked because of their theoretical usefulness and coherence, not because they will help win a debate; the strength of an argument is no greater than its weakest link, and the weakest link is the one that should be tested first. Even among those who believe that there is no "objective truth," or those who believe that if there is we can never know it, the pursuit of truth, and thus fidelity to some notion of it, is "the bottom line." Even Marx, who announced that the point is not to interpret the world but to change it, intended the pursuit of truth every bit as much as had Plato.

But Moynihan does not pursue truth, nor respect it. He does not recognize the moral values of the intellectual world he claims to inhabit; it is nothing more than the means of his advancement. He thus betrays a calling, in a way that Stevenson did not, nor Kennedy, nor most of the contemporary politicians whom he scorns as inferior intellects. Because he is a betrayer, it is difficult ever to trust him, to accept even his most reasonable pronouncements as genuine. False in one, false in all. □

THE MOYNIHAN REPORT

Black History Seduced and Abandoned

HERBERT G. GUTMAN

As many years separate the end of World War I from Franklin Delano Roosevelt's election to the Presidency as distance us from the publication of *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965). It and the controversy surrounding it have become a part of history. Popularly referred to as the "Moynihan Report," this brief Government-printed pamphlet appeared a year after the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the extremely bitter black ghetto disorders of summer 1964. The pamphlet established the national reputation of its author, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, as an expert on such matters as social welfare, public policy and the urban black poor.

The Moynihan Report dealt with the difficult social and human condition of a particular generation of poor Afro-Americans. It appeared in print just as the fourth great migration involving either Africans or their Afro-American descendants was ending. The first migrations were involuntary and involved slaves: first, enslaved Africans who were brought to mainland North America (mostly between 1730 and 1770) and, second, their enslaved Afro-American descendants, shipped from the upper to the lower South (mostly between 1810 and 1860). Increased demand for processed foodstuffs and industrial raw materials shaped the second slave migration. The third migration was voluntary, occurred between 1910 and 1930, was facilitated by the decline of European immigrant labor, and involved mostly the grandchildren of former slaves quitting the rural South to make their way as common laborers and service workers in Northern and Western cities. The most recent migration occurred in our time (1940 to 1965) and involved about four million Southern blacks displaced by mechanization and agribusiness. This last migration succeeded in transforming mostly poor, underemployed and unemployed rural Southern black men and women into mostly poor, underemployed and unemployed urban Northern black men and women.

The men, women and children victimized during the fourth great black migration were the subjects of the Moynihan Report, and its explanation of their difficulties together with the remedies it put forth sparked bitter public controversy. Then the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Moynihan called attention to the need to remedy serious unemployment among urban blacks. But he insisted that "the deterioration of the Negro family" was "the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time." "A national effort toward the problems of Negro Americans," Moynihan vigorously concluded, "must be directed toward the question of family structure."

Ignoring His Own Advice

Just how Moynihan had come to this authoritative policy recommendation remains obscure. Before 1965, he complained that Federal policy makers actually knew very little about black families, and he, indeed, had little public recognition as an expert on blacks. Co-author Nathan Glazer, not Moynihan, penned the chapter on New York City blacks in *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963), arguing that, unlike white ethnics, Afro-Americans had no distinctive "values and culture to guard and protect." In 1964, Moynihan advised a conference planning a study of black Americans, to be sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, that even though the "problem of the Negro family" involved large Federal expenditures, "we know nothing about it, or not much about it [the Negro family]." Conventional explanations victimized policy makers. They needed new data and fresh studies about black families. Moynihan posed good questions:

> . . . [If] we could, for heaven's sake, find something besides the inheritance of slavery, which sort of leaves you there—that's it, that's it—but if there is something that is new, if it's getting worse because of reasons that are new, then there is a possibility of public policy reacting to it.

Less than a year after Moynihan made this plea, he published *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.* One reason so much controversy surrounded it was that its author ignored the advice he had given to others.

Herbert G. Gutman is a professor in the Ph.D. program in history at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is the author of The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 *(Pantheon) and* Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America *(Alfred A. Knopf).*

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In assessing the individual, familial and social costs paid by so many poor blacks associated with the fourth black migration (1940 to 1965), Moynihan fell back on the conventional explanation ("the inheritance of slavery") he had scorned in 1964. But he linked it to "the family." Citing his frequent collaborator, Nathan Glazer, Moynihan insisted that "American social scientists" had come to see "the family" as "a significant and dynamic element in the creation of culture, social character, and social structure." He pointed out that public policy makers had to pay attention to "family patterns that help or hinder efforts to bring people out of poverty and into the mainstream of American life."

'Deficit' Families

The "family patterns" poor rural black migrants carried to Northern cities between 1940 and 1965 needed remediation. Theirs was a "deficit" family structure that made their adaptation much more difficult. "It was by destroying the Negro family under slavery," the Moynihan Report said, "that white America broke the will of the Negro people." Small numbers of favored slaves had sustained "normal" family life, but the so-called "matriarchal" family thrived among ordinary slaves. "Deep-seated structural distortions in the life of Negro Americans" set in during slavery, accompanied Afro-Americans into legal freedom, and were reinforced first by rural poverty and segregation, then by migration to Northern cities, and finally by urban poverty, unemployment and racism. Moynihan explained:

> There is no one Negro problem. There is no one solution. Nonetheless, at the center of the tangle of pathology is the weakness of the family structure. Once or twice removed, it will be found to be the principal source of most of the aberrant, inadequate, or anti-social behavior that did not establish but now serves to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and discrimination.

The condition of the poor migrant blacks involved in the fourth migration was shaped by a twisted family "structure" and a self-perpetuating "tangle of pathology" that had started under slavery.

The package tied together neatly. A distinctive American historical experience—slavery—had denied most Afro-

DRAWINGS BY EDWARD SOREL

Americans the opportunity to adopt normal (middle-class) family arrangements and practices. The anthropologist Joyce Aschenbrenner splendidly summed up how the "tangle of pathology" supposedly worked among the poor descendants of slaves. "Because they are not integrated into the opportunity structure," Aschenbrenner wrote, "they are disorganized and therefore unable to socialize their children into that system." A "deficit" family structure, in turn, shaped a "deficit" culture, and the consequences of that historical process revealed themselves fully among poor black men and women living in Northern cities in the 1950s and early 1960s. A few years before the Moynihan Report was published, Nathan Glazer made the same point: "A hundred years after emancipation the consequences of slavery still present this country with its greatest domestic problem." That historical experience, Moynihan argued, required a "national effort" to "strengthen the Negro family."

The Report and Its Critics

Early critics of the Moynihan Report (leaders of the civil rights movement and activist social scientists prominent among them) disputed Moynihan's characterization of the mid-twentieth-century poor black family. The historical assumptions on which the report so heavily depended went unchallenged. But critics denied that "the inheritance of slavery" directly affected poor mid-twentieth-century urban black families. Sociologist Hylan Lewis said the report "overlooked and underrated . . . the diversity among low-income Negro families." Indeed, the stable black urban working-class family went unmentioned in the report. Those urban blacks who were not middle class lived in "desperate and deteriorating circumstances." Lewis reminded hasty converts to the "tangle of pathology" that

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the "answer to the problem is not one of inculcating marriage and family values in young couples; there is ample evidence that they exist." Other social scientists, Elizabeth Herzog the most prominent among them, pointed out that analyzing data by color rather than by income levels "tended to support the slavery-specific hypothesis." Black and white differences in family structure, however, diminished greatly but did not disappear when controlled for income. (In 1960, for example, 21 percent of all black families as contrasted to 6 percent of all white families were single-parent families. But in that same year among families earning less than $3,000 a year, 47 percent of black and 38 percent of white families were single-parent families.)

Other aspects of the Moynihan Report also drew criticism. Bayard Rustin cautioned that "what may seem to be a disease to the white middle class may be a healthy adaptation to the Negro lower class." Matters beyond middle-class bias caught the attention of still other critics. Writing more than a decade apart, Christopher Jencks (1965) and Roger Wilkins (1976) emphasized the report's conservative policy implications. Jencks focused on its conventional assumptions:

> The guiding assumption is that social pathology is caused less by basic defects in the social system than by defects in particular individuals and groups which prevent their adjusting to the system. The prescription is to change the deviants, not the system.

(We might ask those who advocate such policies what medicines would have been especially appropriate for poor black men and women seeking to better their condition but driven into decaying mid-twentieth-century Northern cities?) Wilkins differed in emphasis from Jencks and focused on the report's implicit pessimism:

> If one concluded that the human destruction and degradation in [mid-twentieth-century] black communities resulted from an historical pathology of several centuries' duration, then a certain set of policy choices tinged with large amounts of despair about black capacities are likely to follow.

Wilkins suggests why Daniel Patrick Moynihan's shift from uplifting poor black families to "benign neglect" was a short trip on an express train.

Moynihan apparently did not take well to these and other criticisms of his report. He saw himself as a victim, paying a price for having spoken unpopular truths. More important, Moynihan and his supporters insisted that the harsh criticisms greeting the report closed off detached inquiry about poor black Americans. Scholars allegedly became timid, and, with the example of Moynihan before them, backed away from the truth. "Of course," Moynihan told the associate editor of *Psychology Today* just after serving at the United Nations and just before his 1976 election to the Senate, "the black issue is quiet now. It's been suggested that no one really wants to touch it because of what happened to me."

The New Scholarship

Moynihan could not have been more mistaken. By 1976, the black movements of the 1960s had lost their vitality, but the "black issue" remained alive. A fresh scholarship thrived. Black and white scholars, mostly anthropologists and historians, increasingly put aside the "deficit model" of Afro-American history and culture that had defined most mainstream studies of black Americans between 1940 and 1970. They began asking new questions about the black poor, about their history and about their current condition. Those poor black men, women and children so deeply scarred during and after the fourth migration (1940 to 1979) would soon be seen from a new perspective.

Rich and varied in its content, the new scholarship showed that the poor blacks victimized during and after the fourth migration were not descended from "a tangle of pathology" rooted in historic Afro-American lower-class family disorganization. Most poor rural and urban blacks (and even more so their slave ancestors), of course, had lived outside the "opportunity structure." But the resultant exploitation did not cause widespread and endemic family disorganization. Instead, a family and kinship system developed among ordinary slaves and later was sustained and changed by their poor rural and urban descendants. It differed in significant ways from the mainstream family and kinship system. But dissimilarity and pathology are not synonyms. The basic assumption on which the Moynihan report rested was mistaken.

The new scholarship dealt with far more than the Afro-American family, and even what it revealed about the slave and poor black family can merely be hinted at in these few paragraphs. Most slave adults married. Unless broken by an owner—usually by sale or following an estate division (that happened in about one in six or seven marriages)—most slave marriages lasted until the death of a spouse. (Slaves, incidentally, could separate voluntarily from—"divorce"—a spouse.) Most slave children grew up knowing a slave mother and a slave father. Most slave women had all their children by the same slave father. Prenuptial intercourse and childbirth occurred often, but most unmarried slave mothers later took husbands and remained with them until death. Some slave mothers never married. A slave father often had a son named for him; it rarely happened that a slave daughter was given her mother's name. Slave blood cousins rarely married. Slave children—at least 40 percent in the third and fourth generations—were named for kin, usually blood kin (paternal and maternal aunts and uncles, grandparents and even great-grandparents). The slave surname often served to connect a slave to his or her distant slave family of origin.

Blood Ties Run Deep

Some common practices associated with slave family life differed from those in the mainstream culture. Blood-cousin marriage (a way of consolidating property ownership), for example, occurred often among large plantation owners; slaves did not marry within bloodlines. The mainstream culture shunned the unmarried mother. But slave parents and older siblings did not reject an unmarried daughter or sister who had one or more children. Among the slaves, husband and wife roles seemed relatively less important than mother and father roles as well as brother and sister roles. Blood ties, apparently, counted for more than marriage ties.

The evidence should not be misinterpreted. It does not mean that slaves were well treated. The isolated slave family was weak and unstable. Severe constraints limited the authority of slave adults and parents. The involuntary breakup of slave marriages and families was frequent. The slave family had no legal protection. But the capacity of the slaves as a developing social class (made up mostly of field hands and common laborers) to forge a widespread, adaptive and distinctive

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kinship system out of their African and American experiences nourished these fragile conjugal families. Uncovering the enlarged slave kin group—not the isolated slave "nuclear" family but the relations between slave families of the same and different generations—tells us something of paramount importance about the lower-class Afro-American historical experience. It redefines the context ordinary slaves lived in, and some of the resources available to them in dealing with their oppression. It allows us to see how obligations based on slave blood and marital ties became the basis for enlarged slave conceptions of social (or class) obligation. And it allows us to begin to understand why the distinctive exploitation associated with chattel slavery did not mold ordinary slaves into classic *lumpen-proletarians*, a miscellaneous aggregate of displaced Africans and Afro-American men, women and children.

The Kinship System

The enlarged kin group accompanied ordinary Afro-American slaves into legal freedom. It—not the isolated "nuclear" family—formed the core of all poor black communities in the full century that separates the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) from the Moynihan Report (1965). Much remains to be known about the enlarged kin group and its changing functions over time and place. But, as Cornell psychologist William E. Cross Jr., points out, it is "close, strong, intact, resilient, and adaptable to rural and urban environments."* Anthropologists studying the contemporary black poor —Carol B. Stack (*All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* [1974]) and Demetri B. Shimkin and his associates (*The Extended Family in Black Society* [1978]), among others—have demonstrated that the kinship system forged under slavery retains unusually positive functions among poor rural and urban blacks living in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Their works move the past into the present and radically alter our understanding of the contemporary black poor. They make it clear that the poor black family cannot be understood in isolation from the enlarged kin group. And they demonstrate how exchanges between kin and quasi-kin based upon principles of reciprocity and obligation allow the poor to deal with severe deprivation. Shimkin and his associates describe the extensive "gamut of rights and obligations" associated with membership in a rural Mississippi black extended family:

> It runs, in general, from pressures for solidarity in public decisions . . . to cooperation in work, aid in job hunting, co-residence privileges, child fosterage, care in old age, . . . and gifts and inheritance.

The University of Chicago sociologist Raymond T. Smith finds similar patterns among the urban poor: "The dominant impression is of people helping other people, whether it be by lending, by looking after children, by giving gifts of various practical kinds, or by transfers of money." Such behavior does not abolish poverty. It cannot. But there is much to learn from it in reshaping public programs appropriate to altering radically the condition of very poor urban blacks.

Neoconservative Response

Those who cling tenaciously to the argument that poor late-twentieth-century urban blacks are the victims of a historical "tangle of pathology" have yet to engage this new scholarship directly and seriously. Their responses have varied. Except to insist that the new evidence did "not centrally affect" his 1965 "thesis," Moynihan has remained silent.

Nathan Glazer, however, has changed his attitude about the relationship between "history" and "social policy." In 1963, Glazer waxed enthusiastic over the policy implications of the then fashionable historical argument that the absence of supportive slave familial, class and communal institutions so isolated most slaves that owners could easily infantilize adult slave men and women ("Sambo") and transform them into social and psychological cripples. Glazer then wrote: "The political repercussions of objective studies of the personality of the Negro, and the damage it suffered under slavery and the conditions that succeeded it, are potentially enormous." The new scholarship seems much less pertinent to Glazer. Evidence that most slaves were embedded in kin and class networks which blunted their dependence and sustained distinctive norms over generations as well as fragile family ties evokes a very different response from Glazer. "What bearing," he asked in 1976, "does this rewriting of black history have for social policy today?" If the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment had abolished the protective networks and common familial and kin practices that had developed among the slaves, Glazer would get the answer he seeks. That did not happen. The centrality (albeit in different forms) of the black extended family in all poor rural and urban settings during and after the fourth migration frames the answer to Glazer's question.

The new scholarship on Afro-Americans found its most vigorous critic in Michael Novak, who defended the Moynihan Report and its author as if the Republic itself were under siege. An essay entitled "Race and Truth" (a title, I suspect, that reads better in the original German) explained to *Commentary* readers that the new scholarship demonstrated little more than the near impossibility of "a truthful discussion of racial matters." A new line was in the making. "The overriding current requirement is that one march in rank," warned Novak. "Intellectual muggers stand ready to discipline those who stray." The new scholarship caused Novak to wonder why the study of the Afro-American experience "induces in so many good minds, black and white, a positive lust for corruptions of elementary sense." Novak reminded critics that in dealing with the difficulties encountered by "the black family in urban environments today" Moynihan "took the charitable explanation; viz., that slavery and urban unemployment were to blame" for them. The "uncharitable explanation" went unmentioned.

"I Am All of Them . . ."

The new scholarship cannot be answered by silence (Moynihan), trivialization (Glazer), or mud-slinging (Novak). In 1964, Moynihan asked for such a scholarship concerning the Afro-American poor ("if it's getting worse because of reasons that are new, then there is a possibility of public policy reacting to it"). Erroneous beliefs about the poor black family and its history must be put aside in examining how and why poor/rural/Southern blacks have been transformed into poor/urban/Northern blacks and how their familial and kin connections have been uncon-

*William E. Cross Jr., "Black Family and Black Identity: A Literature Review," *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, II (Summer 1978). Policy makers should be required to read this splendid essay before receiving a first check.

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scionably strained in the past four decades. Anthropologists have described some of the diverse ways in which networks of mutual aid sustain poor blacks in the 1970s. We know that the kinship system that these networks are built upon has a long history—one that is at the core of the changing but enduring Afro-American experience. The kin group and its humane networks perhaps deserve as much attention from policy makers as the matrifocal family. These facts, among others, belong before us while humane, workable and socially constructive public policies are formulated to deal with decaying cities and with those men, women and children most directly and indecently ravaged by that social and economic decay.

It belongs to a poet—not a historian—to write the epitaph to the Moynihan Report. Perhaps his words will provoke a renewed discussion by Daniel Patrick Moynihan of the fourth migration and its victims. The poet is Etheridge Knight. He published "The Idea of Ancestry" in 1968 in *Poems From Prison*:

Taped to the wall of my cell are 47 pictures: 47 black faces: my father, mother, grandmothers (1 dead), grandfathers (both dead), brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins (1st & 2nd), nieces, and nephews. They stare across the space at me sprawling on my bunk. I know their dark eyes, they know mine. I know their style, they know mine. I am all of them, they are all of me; they are farmers, I am a thief, I am me, they are thee.

• • •

I have the same name as 1 grandfather, 3 cousins, 3 nephews,
and 1 uncle. The uncle disappeared when he was 15, just took
off and caught a freight (they say). He's discussed each year
when the family has a reunion, he causes uneasiness in
the clan, he is an empty space. My father's mother, who is 93
and who keeps the Family Bible with everybody's birth dates
(and death dates) in it, always mentions him. There is no
place in her Bible for "whereabouts unknown." □

UPSTAGING THE POOR

The Welfare Vaudevillian

RICHARD A. CLOWARD and FRANCES FOX PIVEN

From the start of his career in Government in the 1960s, Daniel Patrick Moynihan has put himself forward as reformer and expert, particularly as an expert on welfare reform and the poor. He first moved into the national limelight as the author of *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, and regained it as the major proponent of Nixon's Family Assistance Plan. The plan would have legislated a national income of $2,400 a year for the welfare family. But it also contained coercive work requirements, and would have stripped welfare recipients of a number of the procedural rights they had won under existing law. It was a mixed package, full of ambiguities, and while a good number of liberals gave support because of the precedent-setting national minimum income, others, including the National Welfare Rights Organization, opposed the plan. Again, Moynihan reacted to his critics with grief, outrage and personal assaults; once more he accused his critics of fumbling the chance for reform. In truth, the F.A.P. was defeated because of the opposition of Southern conservatives, and because Nixon himself declined to fight for it.

Throughout these events, Moynihan's affectations—his extravagant rhetoric, his penchant for absurd literary allusions, his reckless use of what he calls "social science"—all helped to obscure his politics. With his arrival in the Senate in 1976, however, his politics at last became clear.

Moynihan came to the Senate at a propitious time for an expert on poverty and welfare. A good number of state and municipal governments were in fiscal straits, as the near bankruptcy of New York City only a year before made evident. Popular resentments against the poor, especially the welfare poor, had risen accordingly, for political leaders everywhere were charging that welfare costs were a major cause of the fiscal crisis. Moynihan's moment had arrived. He could be a leader in the effort to generate fiscal relief for the states and cities by slashing welfare costs. And because he was an expert on the welfare system and a longtime advocate of reform, he could hope to pass off cuts in public assistance spending as "welfare reform" without being seriously challenged. In short, Moynihan looked upon the welfare system the way a thief looks upon treasure. It was there to be plundered.

Going Along With Russell

Upon entering the Senate, Moynihan moved immediately toward an alliance with Senator Russell Long. They knew each other well enough, for Long had been crucial in the defeat of the Family Assistance Plan, the author of the query as to who would iron his shirts if the legislation were to pass. (After the final vote that destroyed the bill, Moynihan draped his arm over Long's shoulder as he entered the Senate cloakroom and exclaimed, "Russell, you were magnificent, just magnificent.") Moynihan secured a place in Long's fiefdom, the Senate Finance Committee, and got himself appointed chairman of a special subcommittee on public assistance. The terms of the alliance soon became apparent. Long wanted to stem welfare expenditures, force recipients into work programs, and weaken the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's oversight role, thus allowing the states greater discretion in the administration of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Moynihan, for his part, wanted fiscal relief, particularly for his home state of New York. If Moynihan, the welfare reformer, would sanction Long's efforts to restrict welfare, Long in turn would open the spigot of Federal funds. And so the partnership was struck, although events have since shown that Moynihan has been much the junior partner.

The Moynihan-Long assault on the A.F.D.C. system has taken several forms, but the most important has been the effort to change financing arrangements so as to permit the states to use welfare funds for other purposes. In August 1978, Moynihan, Long and Senator Alan Cranston introduced a bill

Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven are co-authors of Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail *(Pantheon). Richard Cloward is a professor at the Columbia University School of Social Work. Frances Fox Piven is a professor of political science at Boston University.*

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that would have frozen Federal grants for A.F.D.C. while allowing states to reduce payments to recipients. Entitled the "State and Local Welfare and Fiscal Relief Act of 1978," its provisions were simple. First, it would have abolished the traditional open-ended method of A.F.D.C. funding by which the amount of Federal reimbursement varies depending upon what the states and localities spend. Under this method, Federal expenditures rise when caseloads increase or when benefit levels rise. The matching formula is complicated, and it is designed to restrain states and localities from increasing benefits, but the important point to understand is that the formula does require that the Federal Government pay a proportionate share of increasing state and local A.F.D.C. costs.

The Moynihan-Long-Cranston proposal was to fix the Federal share at a permanent dollar amount. Each state would have received an annual block grant equal to the Federal matching share paid the state during 1977-78, plus a share of an additional $1.3 billion for fiscal relief ($185 million to New York). The size of the block grant would then have been increased after 1980 only by increments reflecting the increase in the cost of living. The point is that if the rolls were to rise in a locality, whether as a consequence of a national recession or local economic decline, the Federal share would not rise proportionately.

In fact, the bill would have made it unlikely that the rolls would be allowed to rise at all in the future or, indeed, even to be maintained at current levels. Aside from requiring that the states maintain an A.F.D.C. program to receive the block grant, the bill tended to free the states from traditional welfare obligations. It did not require maintenance of state and local contributions to the program, which in many places are half of total A.F.D.C. costs; in other words, payment levels could be substantially reduced. It did not require that states and localities pass on to recipients the annual cost of living adjustments; a state could simply declare that such an increment was not needed "to provide adequate benefits to such recipients." It did not even require that the block grant be spent on A.F.D.C. clients, but only that it be spent for "social welfare purposes." In short, the proposal would have permitted the virtual dismantling of the A.F.D.C. program (as well as the Unemployed Parent Program, foster care, and the Emergency Assistance to Families program).

If the deal made between Moynihan and Long was clear in this bill, it was also clear that Moynihan was not much of a dealer. Long would have made large gains: a lid on Federal A.F.D.C. expenditures and virtually total state and local discretion in implementing the program. For his part, Moynihan had bargained away the A.F.D.C. program in exchange for a one-time payment of $185 million in fiscal relief for New York State. It was a bad deal, and in the hearings on the bill in September 1978 the state and local officials who were the presumed beneficiaries of the legislation attacked it sharply. It was denounced by the National Governors Association, the National Conference of State Legislatures, and the National Association of Counties. The only supportive testimony came from Moynihan's old friend, Harvard professor Nathan Glazer, and Blanche Bernstein, the punitive administrator of New York City's welfare system who was fired because her policies generated so much ire in the black community. The bill did not survive the Senate Finance Committee vote.

Moynihan Tries Again

Moynihan has not fared much better on the floor of the Senate. In the fall of 1978, for example, he led a debate over another proposal that $500 million be distributed to the states for fiscal relief through Section 403 of the Social Security Act (which deals with A.F.D.C. funding). Both Long and Moynihan had blithely defined this proposal as welfare reform in the Finance Committee hearings, and even insisted that the poor would be the beneficiaries. Actually, the proposal contained no restrictions whatsoever on how the states and localities spent the new moneys, and on the floor one Senator after another rose in irritation to say so. Senator John

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Danforth, for example, asserted that "there is no requirement in this law that a single penny go to the poor. This is just distributing money to state governments and they can spend it in any way they want to, for golf courses, bowling alleys, or statues." Senator Thomas Eagleton made the same argument, that the "money could be used for such unrelated things as building bridges, paving highways, providing for cost-of-living increases to state employees."

At first Moynihan blustered and denied: "No, the answer is no. . . . This is matching Federal money for A.F.D.C." If the measure were voted down, thus denying "the slightest compensation to the poorest people of this country," all that could be said is that "this would not be the country that Franklin D. Roosevelt set out to make it." Senator Danforth retorted that the assistant head of the A.F.D.C. program in H.E.W. interpreted the bill to mean "that the money could be spent in any way the states care to spend it," and Moynihan floundered: "I am baffled by this," he said, "I do not know if [the H.E.W. official] knows what he is talking about. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum." Apparently the quorum call did not give Moynihan enough time to gather his wits. Again he claimed bafflement, demanded still another quorum call, and then rose to suggest that the arguments being made against the bill were somehow perverse, even un-American:

> I would have to say that this proposition is unfamiliar to me—to have it suddenly suggested that somehow this money was not going to be extended under the title of fiscal relief. . . . I do not know why we have to come in and break the chain of thought by such a contrary contention. It is simply not the case; the case is what I said to be the case. I do feel that something is being sapped from our national life when [such arguments are made].

Grand Admonitions

Moynihan brings to these debates both his characteristic grandiosity and pretension to scientific substantiation. But whatever else the Senate is, its members are not stupid, and Moynihan is frequently treated as a clown. This was demonstrated during a debate on the relationship between welfare policies and the housing calamity in the South Bronx. Moynihan argued that welfare recipients were destroying the South Bronx by refusing to pay rent and utility bills and by burning down buildings. He thus endorsed a bill that would permit the expansion of the practice of issuing "two-party" checks to recipients for rent and utilities which could be cashed only by landlords and utility companies. Under existing legislation, welfare departments could already use two-party checks, but for only 10 percent of their caseloads. Moynihan wanted to raise that limit to 20 percent, and most of the Senators agreed. The dispute centered on the further proposal that *all* recipients be allowed to "volunteer" or "request" that their checks be made out to landlords and utility companies.

"Mr. President," Moynihan began,

> I rise in pain and difficulty to join this debate. . . . [We have here] one of the most extraordinary phenomena of this age in America, which is the wholesale destruction and abandonment of housing in our center cities. . . . In the history of urban settlement, I do not suppose there has ever been a phenomenon such as the destruction of the South Bronx. Never. Nowhere on earth. In history, places aplenty have been destroyed by conquerors, and more places abandoned than we tend to recall, but never has an urban settlement been so destroyed by people still living there.

Opposition to the "voluntary" two-party check system was led by Senators Edward Brooke, Jacob Javits, William Proxmire and William Hathaway. They argued that the proposal was "bad social policy" on three main grounds. It was "bad welfare policy" because many recipients will not understand that their consent must be freely given. Recipients would be placed in a position, Brooke said, "where they can be coerced by the welfare officials who control their income, and by the landlords who control their housing. All landlords could simply demand that an A.F.D.C. recipient authorize such two-party payments before the landlord would agree to rent to such a tenant. And there would be no effective way of preventing such coercion." This argument Moynihan countered with grand admonitions: "More is required of liberalism in this time than an unexamined attachment to the social welfare doctrines of half a century ago." Brooke parried that he and others were pursuing a "conservative concept . . . concern for individual rights."

The proposal was also attacked as "bad housing policy," for where there is "guaranteed" payment of rent, landlords might have little incentive to improve substandard housing. As a consequence, Brooke argued, "the so-called 'voluntary' two-party check could actually encourage or perpetuate overpriced, substandard housing for persons of low income." Here Moynihan kept replying that "the South Bronx burns every night. The President of the United States went up there and stood as if in Berlin in 1945." And again: "I ask [the Senator] to take just one look here at the front page of *The New York Times*. He will see the President of the United States walking amidst the ruins. . . . "

Finally, Brooke noted the "adamant opposition by the National Council of State Public Welfare Administrators," for

> Surely they know better than anyone that this provision would cause more problems than it solves. Administrative chaos could result from large numbers of recipients requesting two-party checks in amounts which changed from month to month as in the case of utility payments. . . . Do we really wish to further complicate the administration of our welfare programs when these programs already so clearly are in need of simplification and reform?

To this argument Moynihan had no reply.

Lack of Evidence

Two other questions recurred in the debate. Was the main cause of deteriorated housing in the central cities the nonpayment of rent by welfare recipients? Moynihan, the social scientist, could give no evidence on the question except to refer to "my own observation of the devastation that had befallen large sections of New York City as landlords, unable to collect rents from welfare recipients, have simply abandoned the buildings." Proxmire argued that hearings should be held to explore in depth the sources of housing deterioration, and for all big cities, not just New York City, as well as to determine whether two-party welfare check arrangements would make any difference. "It seems to me," he said, "that it would be far better to have the information first, and then to act." A related question was whether recipients already on two-party checks found that landlords improved their housing. Moynihan was continually forced to admit that "I cannot speak with knowledge to that point," "I have no data," it is "a question of judgment." Still, at one point he claimed a superior capacity to

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make such judgments, compared with Javits, because "I went to high school in East Harlem directly across the river from the South Bronx, while my revered and senior Senator comes from the Washington Heights area, which is much closer to the North Bronx."

By contrast, Moynihan is always quick to condemn others if they cannot substantiate their views with "hard data." When Henry Freedman, director of an especially effective antipoverty legal services agency called the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, came before Moynihan's committee to oppose two-party checks, Moynihan dismissed his testimony as "in no sense empirical." Instead, "he testified in the manner of a man arguing from the principle that the maximum freedom ought to be accorded a person, howsoever dependent." To Moynihan, Freedman's testimony had "all the clarity of logic but none of the fuzziness and grit and dirt and detail of reality." Presumably it is Moynihan, the social scientist, to whom we should look for carefully marshaled evidence and carefully drawn inferences bearing on social policy reform.

Enemies List

Moynihan is also a very bad loser. He singles out "enemies," usually among people of little consequence to his political career. In the defeat of the Family Assistance Plan, he singled out George Wiley and the National Welfare Rights Organization as the culprits, and not Nixon, or Senator Long and his conservative allies. A few years later, following Wiley's death in an accident, Moynihan implied in *The New Republic* that Wiley had despaired of his own mistakes (such as opposing F.A.P.) and committed suicide. In the two-party welfare check debate, Moynihan singled out the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law as the enemy. Whenever another Senator referred to the range of organizations that had testified against two-party checks (the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the League of Women Voters, the National Urban League, the National Council of Public Welfare Administrators, etc.), Moynihan insistently acted as if they did not know their own minds, as if they were led by their noses by the Center: "It is not hard to invoke the doctrines of an increasingly doctrinaire and adversarial social welfare policy [Center], to get such organizations to sign up [against two-party checks]." Moreover, "the antipoverty lawyers who find this proposal so offensive . . . do not go home to these slums." It was Brooke who replied that, "The Senator touches my heart when he says that the welfare recipients' lawyers do not go home to the slums. But the landlords do not go home to these slums either. . . . They go to Park Avenue, to Fifth Avenue, to the suburbs."

This much must be said for Moynihan. His style is grandiose to the end. With all of his arguments for one bill or another battered to shreds, compliments issue like water from a busted water main. His opponents in debate are not merely "distinguished," they are "revered," "incomparable," "venerated," "cherished," "unexcelled," "elegant," "exemplary," "eloquent." Only Moynihan, in defeat, could rise to commend the debating skills of the opposition with such words as, "When we have attained a degree of limited perfection we ought to desist [debating] lest we challenge the godhead of perfection himself, which is a risk and brings woe." Nor could anyone try to avert further humiliations so grandly: "Mr. President, I do not think that any large purpose of inquiry is much to be served by continuing this debate. . . . Mr. President, I do not know that any great purpose is served by continuing this debate. . . . "

If much about Moynihan's political career has been theater, it verges now on vaudeville. And that is a little bit of luck for the poor. □

THE COMPLAISANT PRESS

A Media Star Is Born

JOYCE PURNICK

He is a most fortunate of political men, is Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Caught up as he is in a business shaped by image and fueled by visibility, he is the happy beneficiary of what reporters who write about him readily concede is "favorable," even overwhelmingly favorable," press coverage.

This freshman Senator, two-and-a-half years on the Hill, only a subcommittee chairmanship to call his own, is the star of a reluctantly seduced press corps—and mostly because he is Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Flamboyant. Temperamental. Ever quotable. And deftly manipulative of reporters who feel at once impressed, used and cowed by a man who understands as few do that the daily press is sometimes less tenacious than it should be, more limited by the conventions and strictures of journalism than its critics would like to believe.

"Look, Moynihan's good copy," says media consultant David Garth, who knows something about politicians and the press. "Most people are cautious. They give you judicious remarks. That does not make your article exciting. Moynihan is quotable. He has something to say about everything since nickel beer."

More often than not, it's the provocative quote that commands media attention. Analysis and perspective come later, if at all, which Moynihan plainly knows and skillfully exploits. He gets away with statements others could not, should not, in part because of a well-honed instinct for sensing what will play in the press.

He surely knew, for instance, that if he made a statement about freedom of the press the week after *New York Times* reporter M.A. Farber was jailed for refusing to turn over investigative files to a New Jersey judge, his comments would hit page 1 of *The Times*. They did, of course, under the headline "Moynihan Sees Need for Bill to Guarantee Freedom of the Press," even though the Senator did not propose any legislation and has not since. He did manage, in his remarks, to describe *The Times* as "perhaps the most important newspaper in the world today," which the never reticent *Times* duly quoted.

Pat Moynihan has been the flattered subject of a half-dozen profiles in *The New York Times Magazine* during the last ten years—compared with five for Edward Kennedy and not a one for New York's senior Senator, Jacob Javits. He has graced two *Time* magazine covers, is mentioned regularly in editorials in New York City's three dailies, and is in the most enviable position of counting the top editors of *The New York Times* and *The New York Daily News* among his friends—including *The Times*'s executive editor, A.M. Rosenthal, and

Joyce Purnick writes a political column for New York *magazine.*

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News editor and vice president Michael J. O'Neill.

Feature newspaper articles about him often bubble with rhetorical effusions bordering on the lyrical. The Senator's charm, a *Sunday News Magazine* piece this past spring assured us, "gushes from him in great thick clotting streams, now puckish, now erudite, now British . . . and soaks into his listeners like cream on a necktie." Moynihan attracts the kind of attention John Wayne could get "walking into a Wild West saloon," according to the lead paragraph of a November 1977 *Times* feature. And the most recent of the six Sunday *New York Times Magazine* pieces—illustrated with an apparently playful Daniel Patrick Moynihan wearing a paper bag over his head—lauds the Senator's "flamboyant energy, provocative ideas and dexterous intellect." The piece examines Moynihan's positions on some key issues, but a specific reference to his voting record is relegated to seven parenthetical lines toward the end of the article.

Gone from, and all but forgotten by the popular press, it would appear, is the Pat Moynihan who willingly served such disparate masters as John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford—the White House adviser who got into all that trouble over benign neglect and his report on the black family. Gone, too, is the Moynihan whose blustery tenure as United Nations Ambassador was as controversial—and perhaps as counterproductive, suggested critic Jane Kramer in a cutting *New York Review of Books* piece not long ago—as it was attention-grabbing.

It's the new Moynihan we read all about these days—the darling of the New Right, who dominates *Esquire*'s neoconservative establishment chart and has a public passion for his state (he "eats, sleeps and breathes New York," reports *The New York Times Magazine)*. That all may well be true but rarely do we get, reading about Pat Moynihan, a real sense of what he's accomplished in Congress; of how, as a member of the Senate Finance Committee, he trades with powerful Chairman Russell Long of Louisiana; of his mercurial mood-swings.

Instead, we read a lot of what Pat Moynihan wants us to read. The Senator sees to this—along with his young, press-wise administrative assistant, Tim Russert. There are, first, Moynihan's weekly press conferences—Tuesday morning sessions that reporters privately call "seances" or "American Government 101." Standing behind his antique desk, near a framed copy of that *Times* cover photo of him in the paper bag, Moynihan has been known to wax professorial for as long as an hour, dancing glibly from subject to subject like the Gene Kelly of Capitol Hill. The weekly get-togethers, say the regulars, range from yawningly dull and rambling to provocative, and provide Moynihan with a built-in forum for making everything from hard news to the people column. "He was in the White House, he was Ambassador to India and the United Nations, there isn't anything he says that doesn't merit some attention," observes a *Daily News* man. (Late score: Moynihan's front-page anti-Carter blast of September 11 got a *Post* headline, page 14 in *The News*, and zero in *The Times*.)

Floccipaucinihilipilification

Still, who else but Moynihan could get ubiquitous newspaper play by challenging reporters to get the word floccipaucinihilipilification (it means the act of estimating as unworthy) into their papers—correctly spelled? He'd give them a bottle of wine (New York State, of course) if successful. Who could resist? *The Times* even devoted two items in its people column to Moynihan's playfulness, helping to reinforce his "puckish" image.

One Tuesday morning a while ago Moynihan was asked about the draft-Kennedy movement and responded with a near treatise on political science. Jimmy Carter was governing "by the sufferance" of Senator Kennedy, he said, adding that "it's beginning to be an open scandal in Washington that the Administration makes its decisions on how will Senator Kennedy react." Moynihan made the papers the next day, *Newsweek* the next week, and his remarks certainly rated attention. But it would not have been inappropriate for reporters to have mentioned that Moynihan himself has some interest in higher office.

It is the lack of even such superficial analysis that is so characteristic of stories about Moynihan—in fact, in stories about most political figures. "Show me one member of Congress *The Times* doesn't cover favorably," explains one frustrated-sounding *Times* reporter. The excuse is a weak, if probably accurate, one. Back in December, at a press conference described in *The Times* as "wide-ranging" and "rambling," Moynihan made what can only be called outrageous remarks about plans New York City was then considering for rehabilitation of the South Bronx.

"People don't want housing in the South Bronx or they wouldn't burn it down," said Moynihan, sticking his neoconservative foot squarely in his mouth. "It's fairly clear that housing is not the problem in the South Bronx." Moynihan claimed that the people of the South Bronx need jobs, not housing, adding, "People who absolutely need housing don't abandon it."

The remarks—ill-considered at best, racist at worst, appeared on page B-1 of *The Times*, in smaller stories buried on page 29 of *The Daily News* and page 13 of *The New York Post*. Not one of the articles pointed out some basic inaccuracies in what Moynihan—who bills himself as an urban affairs expert—said. The very plan New York was then considering would have provided 10,000 new jobs, for one thing. And, second, arson in blighted urban areas is a complex, multifaceted problem that, law-enforcement officials confirm, is more often committed by landlords seeking to collect insurance than by disaffected tenants.

In short, Moynihan set up a straw man, knocked it down and got away with it. In fact, *The Daily News* quoted him nonjudgmentally in an editorial about the South Bronx a few days later, and a *New York Post* editorial also repeated the remarks, identifying Moynihan as having "a valid reputation in the field of urban affairs." *The Times* made no editorial reference at all.

Uncritical coverage is not a blessing conferred exclusively on Pat Moynihan, of course. In fairness, it is the nature of straight news writing to report first, criticize or qualify later (or never). And deadline pressures sometimes make an analysis difficult.

Whether generous press treatment of Pat Moynihan goes beyond journalistic mechanics and savvy manipulation and involves the Senator's personal relationships with editors is one of the larger imponderables in all of this. Rosenthal of *The Times* and O'Neill of *The News* are "friends," says Moynihan (who refers to them as Abe and Mike). The Senator is also friendly with *Times* editorial writer Roger Starr, who is a member, as is Moynihan, of the publication committee of *The Public Interest*, a quarterly magazine favored by neoconservatives. Rupert Murdoch,

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publisher of *The Post* and owner of *The Village Voice* and *New York* magazine, is "an acquaintance," says Moynihan. And then there's *Times* publisher Arthur (Punch) Sulzberger, who created an internal uproar at *The Times* in 1976 when he overruled the decision of then editorial page editor, John Oakes, to endorse Bella Abzug in the Democratic Senate primary. Punch gave the paper's blessing to Moynihan, in an editorial written by Max Frankel, then an editorial writer, and now editorial page editor.

Relationships between politicians and editors are not uncommon. They can mean, at the least, access at the level with the most direct impact on news content. "Moynihan will call up an editor, tell him something, then he'll call me and say hell, it sounds like a pretty good idea," says *Daily News* Washington columnist James Wieghart, who thinks those tactics result in an occasional "unwarranted" story. Others think Moynihan's friendships help placement, play and editorial content. *Daily News* editorials are often reflective of Moynihan's thinking or sympathetic to his positions but, says Robert Laird, a member of the paper's editorial board, "I think it's more a matter of identification with point of view than of personalities." There is, suggests Laird, "less to this sort of thing than meets the eye."

Powder Puffery

Perhaps. But political-editorial friendships have their impact, often creating an atmosphere of acceptance in a city room. An attitude, often unspoken, sometimes develops about political figures at newspapers. Some are given the benefit of the doubt, others—like Mayor Abraham Beame after the fiscal crisis hit—simply are not. In a profession in which choices are constantly being made—about everything from headlines to which quotes to use—that can be of critical importance. It is difficult to believe, for instance, that the powder-puff treatment of Moynihan's South Bronx remarks was not an example of overprotectiveness.

As for the more insidious sort of editorial intervention—the total suppression of a negative story—no one at any of the three city papers, or at any upstate papers, for that matter, could come up with any examples. In fact, *The Times* ran a front-page story reporting that Moynihan had flip-flopped on rent control shortly after he was elected (for it during the campaign, backing off afterward).

Curiously, despite his favorable coverage, Moynihan is not well liked by many who cover him regularly in Washington. The complaints are that he is patronizing or condescending. "I think he feels we're a little stupid," says Wieghart, which is what Moynihan seems to think of some of his colleagues as well. He infuriated members of the New York Congressional delegation when he denounced them as a "do-nothing" outfit, and once had to apologize after describing an amendment proposed by Wyoming's Senator Malcolm Wallop as "inane, devoid of intellectual competence or even rhetorical merit."

With reporters, exchanges often turn into classroomlike encounters, complete with little surprise quizzes. When he made his Kennedy-Carter remarks, the former Harvard professor at one point mused aloud whether any previous American President had found himself in a similar fix. "Come on now, where are the history students? Has this ever happened before?" he asked the reporters. The impulse was to raise one's hand with the answer.

A Journalist's Apologia

I would like to make a public apology to anyone who may have read an article I wrote in the November 3, 1967, issue of the old *Life* magazine. It was a profile of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and it was largely favorable. I am apologizing because when I wrote the piece I paid no attention to my instincts, which kept telling me this man was not the liberal that he seemed to be, and that maybe he was quite dangerous. There is a small amount of consolation in the knowledge that I was one of the first in what has become a long line of journalists to be gulled by him.

What fooled me, and what has fooled many others, was Moynihan's uncanny ability to make himself appear to be a confidant, an equal, of whomever he happened to be with at the moment. One reason reporters frequently write about his capacity for finding his way into barrooms, for example, is that Moynihan knows that *reporters* are not unfamiliar with the inside of a bottle. What I didn't notice was that he could pull the same tricks of flattery with academicians (I saw him work it on Talcott Parsons once), with high-level government bureaucrats and even with Richard Nixon. I didn't notice that the man apparently had no personality of his own. Or that his only tools were his physical presence, his remarkable way with words and his equally remarkable memory, which he used to summon up the research of other people when it fit his own needs.

The title of the *Life* piece was "Idea Broker in the Race Crisis," which was what people wanted Moynihan to be back in those days. Many of us, then, were hoping naïvely that the social sciences would help us find ways out of our multiple, interconnected social dilemmas. That hope was not discouraged by the sociologists, political scientists and other formerly obscure denizens of academe who eagerly accepted their newly elevated status but who have left us, a decade later, with virtually nothing to show for themselves except the ruins of a few failed government programs and a few phrases like "benign neglect." The trick with Moynihan was that he was a social scientist who was articulate and who could explain things to politicians and reporters. Too many of us, and I was one of them, failed to notice that he would articulate for anybody and anything that he thought would give him power.

I should have caught on when, in the course of the *Life* interviewing, I saw him unlimber an Abercrombie & Fitch fly-fishing outfit, complete with rod, creel, little hat and dry martini, to pursue trout in a mud puddle. He was, I realized then, a *cartoon*, not the real stuff. But that was a dozen years ago, and I was younger and more impressionable. We all were. The same issue of *Life* had a piece on runaway hippies and another on how Richard Nixon was hoping to get elected President of the United States.

FRED POWLEDGE

Fred Powledge is a freelance writer whose latest book is Journeys Through the South *(Vanguard Press).*

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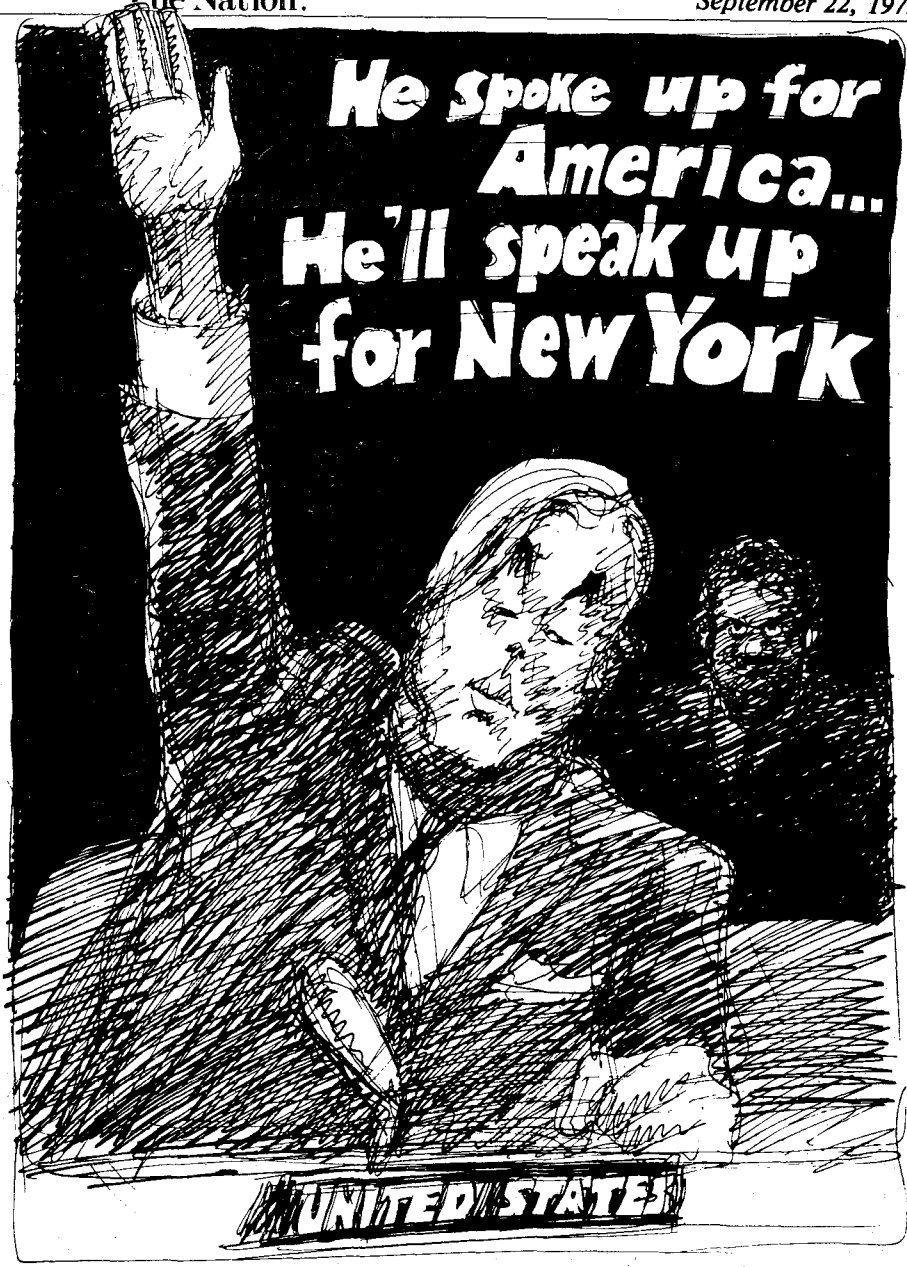
A most mercurial man, Moynihan's been known to coat a reporter in compliments, as chronicled a few years ago in a scathing *Rolling Stone* piece by Timothy Crouse, who found Moynihan's flattery disingenuous. Moynihan can be ingratiatingly charming—inviting reporters to an elegant lunch in 1976 to celebrate the marriage of a *Times* and a *News* reporter who'd covered his campaign (and still write about politics). And he can be publicly humiliating to journalists, as he was the day after his election, when he snapped at an annoying TV reporter who pressed him for the details of his welfare plan, "It's not something for the simple-minded, I'm afraid."

Although he is a man who stimulates some journalists, irritates most, little of whatever personal resentment a reporter may feel gets into the copy for what may be a rather basic reason: Pat Moynihan is very very smart. He is certainly brighter, or better informed, than most reporters, and we know it. Some interviewed for this piece admitted to being "snowed" or "awed" by him. Confronted with a man like Moynihan, reporters' insecurities surface. You don't take on Pat Moynihan unless you really know your ground. It doesn't help knowing he's close to your editor or publisher. So you report what he says, devote newsprint to his quips and stop there. "People don't do their homework," says one *Times* man. "Moynihan's an academic. He cites figures and gets away with it because of the laziness of the press."

It's not that there is any cover-up going on. Even on the very sensitive matter of the Senator's rumored fondness for drinking, reporters say they wouldn't hesitate to write about the subject—if they had any evidence showing that Moynihan's ability to perform his job was in any way impaired. But no such evidence has surfaced, nor—given Moynihan's unusual speech pattern and personal eccentricities—it is an easy thing to prove. Assuming there is something to prove.

Even when a reporter catches him on something, Moynihan has a way of coming out ahead. Steven Weisman of *The Times* wrote recently that after labeling Carter's $5.7 billion package of welfare revisions an example of "tireless tinkering" by the Federal bureaucracy, Moynihan went ahead and introduced the bill, in less than critical language. What of the "tireless tinkering," the Senator was asked. "May I remind you that it was tireless tinkering that made the Maserati racer," answered Pat Moynihan. Who knows good copy, after all, when he makes it. □



PICKING THE COURTS

Judgeships on the Merits

STEPHEN GILLERS

In most places, lawyers who want to be judges become politically active. In New York, lawyers who want to be Federal trial judges complete a twelve-page questionnaire containing thirty-seven questions. An eleven-member panel screens applicants and recommends nominees to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who created the panel, and who, because the President is a Democrat and the other New York Senator a Republican, controls selection of Federal trial judges in New York. United States Attorneys in the state, who are responsible for criminal

Stephen Gillers, associate professor of law at New York University, is author of the recently published The Rights of Lawyers and Clients.

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prosecutions and represent the Government in civil matters, are similarly chosen.*

Moynihan declared his refusal to leave the selection of trial judges and U.S. Attorneys to party patronage shortly after his election. Responding to a *New York Times* editorial, he announced that the four incumbent U.S. Attorneys in New York (all Republicans appointed by Nixon or Ford) would be allowed to complete their terms. This was not business as usual. At the same time, across the Hudson, Senator Harrison Williams was ousting New Jersey's highly respected U.S. Attorney, Republican Jonathan Goldstein, to make room for a Democrat. Recall, too, John Mitchell's successful insistence, after Nixon's election, that Manhattan U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau resign in favor of Republican Whitney North Seymour Jr.

Moynihan has been criticized by party regulars for his position on U.S. Attorneys but he is right. Allowing an incumbent to complete his term is an assertion that the job is professional, as a Government lawyer's office should be, not political.

So much for allowing incumbents to finish their terms, but court-watchers wondered how Moynihan would go about selecting successors. When Moynihan was elected, David Trager was U.S. Attorney in Brooklyn. His term expired first, about eighteen months later. There were several contenders for his post, including state drug prosecutor Sterling Johnson, Nicholas Scopetta, former investigation commissioner in the Beame administration, and Edward Korman, Trager's assistant. The Brooklyn political machine had its own candidates. Korman, a brilliant, fair man who had helped Trager run the office for four years, ordinarily would have had no chance for the job. He was a nominal Democrat with no political connections. But he was also most qualified. Moynihan's panel recommended him; the Senator picked him.

The Merit System

Merit has also been the test for selection of the judges. Eight Federal trial judges have been appointed since Moynihan's election, five in Manhattan, two in Brooklyn, one upstate. According to Leonard Garment, the New York lawyer who chairs Moynihan's panel, seven of the appointees proposed themselves by submitting a questionnaire. None were solicited by the panel. None were particularly political; or as one panel member put it, "you can't identify anyone's rabbi." Garment says that Moynihan has not suggested names to the panel and has accepted its recommendation each time, although occasionally the panel has suggested more than one name for an opening.

The eighth appointee, Robert Sweet, a Republican and deputy mayor under John Lindsay, is a Jacob Javits choice. When Moynihan formed his panel, he put three Republicans on it, expecting that they would represent the senior Senator's views. Javits demurred. He wanted his own panel to recommend one of four names. Moynihan agreed. Sweet was Javits's first nominee. Moynihan's panel, with its three Republican members, can veto Javits's suggestions.

The Moynihan system is refreshing apart from its emphasis on merit. For the prior eight years, during the Nixon and Ford Administrations, Javits dominated Federal judicial selection in the state. Although he gave it some qualified judges, he also permitted the nomination of patently unqualified ones. For Javits, it appears, merit was not objectionable but politics came first. Oddly, or perhaps not so, Javits, a lawyer, was less careful about his appointments than is nonlawyer Moynihan.

Who have been Moynihan's nominees? They are six white men and one black woman, a former state judge. All were between 40 and 60 when appointed. Four of the six men come from litigation practices in offices that represent corporate and other moneyed clients. One is a former state and Federal prosecutor. The most recent nominee was Abraham Sofaer, a respected Columbia University law professor. At least four of Moynihan's judges were once prosecutors. They are a first-rate group, as might be expected given the process that produced them. Two have already received the highest praise from the New York trial bar.

There is one criticism of the Senator's method of selecting judges, which it is hoped he will accept in the same spirit that led him to emphasize merit in the first place. The selection panel is skewed in a way that predisposes it to recommend a narrow range of people, or so it has seemed, and appearance is as important as reality. The panel's eleven members include nine lawyers, all white men, most aged 50 or older, most from large or medium-sized corporate firms. With the possible exception of Robert Kasanof, who headed the Criminal Defense Division of the Legal Aid Society, none made a career in the public interest or civil liberties worlds, although a few do impressive extracurricular work there. It should not be surprising, therefore, that of the seven nominees, six are white men, four of whom were corporate litigators. In short, the nominees are a group much like the panel that recommended them.

Institutional Bias

Having praised Moynihan for making merit the test for nomination, I do not now urge that he dilute his standards in favor of variety for its own sake. Federal judgeships are too important. I suggest only that, predictably, like chooses like. Corporate lawyers relate more comfortably to others like themselves, most of whom, as things go, are now white men, and may overlook qualified applicants who have different career backgrounds.

Leonard Garment, an amiable, obviously concerned man, recognized this propensity in referring to the possible "institutional bias" of the panel. He gave an example. When I pointed out that there were no white women among New York's fifty Federal judges* (there are three black women), Garment responded that a white woman had applied, whom the panel liked, but some members were opposed because of her lack of trial experience. Now, it happens that there are very good trial judges who have had little or no trial experience. An intelligent, motivated person can learn what is needed and do better than someone who has been repeating the same

*The President technically appoints Federal trial judges and U.S. Attorneys in each state with Senate approval, but he traditionally selects the person recommended by that state's Senator(s) of his own party, if any. Under a compromise with former Attorney General Griffin Bell, Federal appeals judges are now chosen from lists recommended by Presidentially appointed panels in different parts of the country.

*Javits has recently announced his selection of a white woman, Prof. Elizabeth Defeis of Seton Hall Law School, to a vacancy in the Federal Court in Brooklyn. While Professor Defeis's qualifications are impressive, Javits's motives are suspect. In twenty-three years in the Senate, Javits has not designated a woman to the bench. Now, with the prospect of a re-election campaign, he has done the politically shrewd thing. While we may care less about why Javits does something than that he select good people, one side effect of his tactic is to deny the seat to David Trager, who was an excellent U.S. Attorney and who had the courage to investigate his fellow Republicans. Perhaps Moynihan will correct Javits's error.

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mistakes for years. Even good trial lawyers sometimes make poor judges because they cannot accept their new role, and allow lawyers to try cases their own way. So trial experience should be a factor, but not determinative. Still, the institutional bias Garment spoke of has caused the lawyers on the selection panel to hesitate, understandably but I believe erroneously, to recommend a person who has not been a litigator.

Public interest and civil liberties lawyers are other groups that have been overlooked by Moynihan's panel. No member of the panel is now active in these areas. Garment reasonably explains that only two members of the public interest or civil liberties worlds filled out questionnaires. There seem to me to be two answers to that explanation. First, the presence of one or two public interest or civil liberties careerists on the panel would demonstrate its receptiveness to members of those communities. Second, and more important, representatives of the public interest and civil liberties worlds could encourage qualified colleagues to submit their names and could provide the panel with information and criteria by which to judge them.

In making merit the basis of appointment, in deferring to a knowledgeable panel, in choosing Leonard Garment to head the panel, Moynihan has taken an important task seriously. Federal judges, appointed for life, affect the quality of justice long after the Senator who selected them has left office. The hope now is that Moynihan, after perhaps appropriate early caution, will make his panel and his appointments more varied. "I'd be surprised," says Robert Kasanof, the panel member who headed Legal Aid's criminal division, "if over the course of the full life of the committee, you did not see people coming from the whole range of the profession." Based on Moynihan's performance so far, there is reason to believe that Kasanof will be proved right.

Chief Judge for Life

If Moynihan has done well at the selection stage of judicial appointment, he has shown poor judgment at another stage. Federal judges serve for life and can be removed only by impeachment, a rare and difficult process. Each Federal District Court (the trial level) and each Federal Circuit Court (the appellate level) has one Chief Judge. The judge with the most seniority in a district or circuit is entitled to be its Chief Judge but he must leave that office at age 70. He may then continue as a full-time active judge for the rest of his life or he may become a "senior judge," which means he handles a reduced caseload. But he can no longer be Chief. The Chief Judge in each district and circuit has important administrative and judicial responsibilities. It is a position of power and influence.

Senator Moynihan has introduced a bill that would drop the age limit of 70 and permit a Chief Judge to keep that position his entire life. The Senator has compared Chief Judges to Congressional committee chairmen, for whom there is no age limit. They might also be compared to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who serves for life in that post.

But the comparisons are false. First, we have always treated legislators and judges differently with regard to age. There is no maximum age limit on running for Congress or for most legislative offices and, indeed, a maximum age limit for legislative positions would be constitutionally suspect. But age limits for judges are common and have been upheld.

Second, all members of Congress, including committee chairmen, must run for re-election every two or six years. So there is elective control. Federal judges are appointed for life and not subject to this check. There is no way of getting rid of a Chief Judge by declining to re-elect him.

Third, legislators are subject to the daily criticism of press and public, but judges' behavior is ordinarily overlooked by these groups. Lawyers, in the best position to criticize a judge, rarely do so for fear of reprisal. So this is another way in which judges are insulated while elected officials are not.

Finally, it is true that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court serves for life, but he is nominated to be Chief Justice and must be confirmed in that position by the Senate. A district or circuit judge is not nominated to or confirmed as a Chief Judge—only as a judge. The chief judgeship is a position he attains solely through the passage of time.

Legal Dotage

Moynihan's proposal raises the possibility of a judge in his dotage, his powers failing, refusing to relinquish his chief judgeship. There would be no way to ease him out, other than an unseemly and unlikely impeachment. Furthermore, Moynihan's bill would have an immediate and unfortunate consequence in the Second Circuit. The Second Circuit is the Federal appellate court that includes New York. It handles many important cases and its decisions have a national impact second only to that of the Supreme Court. The current Chief Judge of the Second Circuit is Irving R. Kaufman. He is a year away from 70. Moynihan's bill would allow him to remain on as Chief Judge as long as he likes.

This is not the place to review the long, sometimes controversial career of Irving Kaufman, but some things should be said, given the effect of Moynihan's proposal. The following comments are based on conversations with lawyers and judges from New York and elsewhere over several years. Kaufman is an intelligent man, some say the smartest active judge on the Second Circuit. He tends to vote with its liberal faction. He has been alert to the rights of criminal defendants, to the protections in the Bill of Rights and to the dangers of unchecked government power. As Federal judges go, Kaufman's view of law and the role of courts would probably hearten most readers of this magazine.

But Kaufman has another side as well. He is an unrestrained seeker of publicity, getting his name and picture repeatedly into numerous publications, from *The New York Times* to small newsletters. He is a consummate public relations man—for himself. He is considered arrogant and intemperate. His unrelenting self-promotion has long been a source of humor and embarrassment to New York lawyers. Some of his opinions are even written in a way obviously calculated to make them quotable and newsworthy. This quest for recognition and status by a man to whom they would come without lifting a finger is baffling and disturbing.

It is time for Irving Kaufman to leave his position as Chief Judge. Next in line is Wilfred Feinberg, a warm and sensitive man who, as a judge, has many of the same views as Kaufman. Feinberg enjoys wide-ranging respect. If for no other reason, Moynihan's bill (or the bill he has submitted at someone's instigation) is bad for its immediate effect in the Second Circuit. But it is also bad in principle and should not be supported. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Peck's Bad Boy

RONALD STEEL

A DANGEROUS PLACE. *By Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Atlantic/Little, Brown. 297 pp. $12.50.*

Senator Moynihan has to be the toughest kid on the block. Once to be found shaking his fist at an unruly gang of Africans and Asians who dared to ask for a bigger slice of the international economic pie, or verbally punching out a quivering band of State Department sissies who suggested that a barroom brawl was not the best way to get things done at the United Nations, he can now be seen taking on the effete liberals who hesitate to send in the Marines when the natives get unruly.

It's grand theater, and ever since Moynihan moved his act from the United Nations—where he served as Gerald Ford's ambassador for eight melodramatic months—to the U.S. Senate, he has become the New Right's great white hope for President. The scenario is farfetched, but no more ludicrous than the candidacy of, for example, Ronald Reagan. However fond he is of waving his academic credentials, Moynihan is an old-timer in politics who has worked in every administration since Kennedy's. For some reason he persists in calling himself not only a Democrat but a social democrat. But his definition of both terms is flexible enough to have allowed him to serve Richard Nixon happily and to consider the multinational corporation to be "arguably the most creative international institution of the twentieth century." He also tells us, in this account of his days at the United Nations and elsewhere, that the first task of liberals is to "see more clearly that their essential interest is in the stability of the social order" and in making "more effective alliances with informed conservatives."

He himself has certainly been adept at such alliances, and today speaks for a branch of the Democratic Party that in foreign policy seems to be somewhere to the right of the John Birch Society. But then, Moynihan is not one to cavil over party labels. He was content to work for Richard Nixon, and he looks back on Gerald Ford—whose accomplishments include an attempt to impeach Justice William O. Douglas, the pardoning of Nixon and the gratuitous destruction of a Cambodian village during the *Mayagüez* incident—as the "most decent man I had known in American politics." He probably was—which says something about Moynihan's political associates and employers.

In innumerable speeches and articles, many for *Commentary,* that I Ching of the New Right, and in his recent book, Moynihan has relieved himself of his attitudes on foreign policy. By this time they should be fairly familiar. The Russians and their Third World cohorts are out to drain our vital fluids and undermine our political vocabulary ("I learned . . . that the world is a dangerous place," the Senator informs us rather breathlessly). The Imperial Presidency is the best thing since instant soup ("Ambiguity was the essence of crisis management, but with the War Powers Act . . . the President could never again be ambiguous"). The poor are shiftless and their poverty "is their own making and no one else's, and no claim on anyone else rises in consequence." It is unfortunate that Vietnam gave intervention a bad name, since the "free world" (remember that?) is under constant assault from Marxist malcontents. The American establishment has been laid low by a "failure of nerve" that has soured its taste for more interventions. And the Third World, with its tiresome demands for a "new international economic order," is simply a pain in the neck.

There is nothing particularly novel about Moynihan's foreign policy attitudes. They are simply the flip side of the domestic policy he shares with other conservatives: the Third World, like the underclass at home, should be subjected to benign neglect; the new nations, like American intellectuals, have been infected by "socialist" propaganda; the "foreign policy elites," like the domestic ones, suffer from gutlessness when confronted by outrageous demands for equity, and the entire world, like American society, needs a firm guiding hand. Along with his associates in the journals of the New Right (*Commentary, The Public Interest,* the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal*), Moynihan is constantly bemoaning the "decline of authority," by which he means both the authority of the United States to run the world and the authority of *his* elites to run foreign policy without any back talk from the public.

Although he says he considered the Vietnam War a "calamity," apparently the calamitous part was the withdrawal, which he describes as a "defeat of democratic aims in Asia." "We had failed in our security objectives there," he laments, and the result was a "diminishment of liberal conviction, a decline possibly in energy, which brought about almost an aversion to ideological struggle." By "ideological struggle" he means the kind of grandstanding he conducted during his days at the United Nations, a glorious struggle in which he single-handedly took on the combined forces of such dreadnoughts as Sri Lanka, Algeria and Somalia. Taking the United States "into opposition," to use his phrase, Moynihan gave those ungrateful, resentful, Fabian-infected Third Worlders a tongue-lashing that sent them reeling. Not even at the United Nations, it seems, the one place where the realities of power are masked by the illusion of equality, are the pygmies allowed to talk back to the giants.

For Moynihan, words not only matter, they are all. Because he carried on a shouting match at the United Nations with some Africans and Asians whose only power lay in talk, he imagines that he "changed the language of American foreign policy." All he did was bloat it. Indeed, his inept handling of the Zionism-racism issue may well have been responsible for the offensive resolution by goading some Third World delegations into voting against *him.* Quiet diplomacy might have saved the day, but quiet diplomacy doesn't win headlines.

Rather than coherent views on foreign policy, Moynihan has a set of attitudes and a grab bag of phrases: "in opposition," "failure of nerve," "liberty," "decline of authority." He thinks most of the Third World is a nuisance,

Ronald Steel is the author of Pax Americana *(Viking/Penguin) and other works on foreign policy.*

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except for those countries that have embraced the multinational corporations; that the United States should gear itself up for more interventions in defense of "freedom"; that détente is dangerous since it "drew its inspiration more from a sense of democratic weakness than of totalitarian strength." But what should the United States do, other than scream at the United Nations? What should it do about population pressures, food shortages, ecological dangers, nuclear proliferation, the energy crisis, superpower relations, the unavoidable decline of American control over the world's destiny? Moynihan's answer is that it should go "into opposition," which, judging from his record, means making a lot of noisy gestures. And it should send in the Marines once in a while, although he wonders whether, after Vietnam, the "foreign policy elite" (by which he seems to mean those who disagree with him) would be willing to make "any commitment to freedom abroad comparable to that in the past."

To read Moynihan's account of his tribulations at the United Nations and the indignities suffered at the hands of his critics is to embark on a voyage with the Ancient Mariner. The words flow on inexorably; the sentences are often without subjects or even verbs, the argument is lost in a drunken verbiage that leaves reason and coherence behind. "The talk of the Irish runs on and on until it turns into pure melody, the sound more important than the sense," Frances FitzGerald wrote a few years ago in a devastating portrait of Moynihan. "The music that promises liberation becomes in itself the liberation. . . . It is thus that, in working for a Republican administration, Moynihan could claim to be the authentic voice of the working class of America."

What is most interesting about Moynihan's book is not its nostalgia for the old days when the wogs knew their place but what it reveals about his character. He comes across as surprisingly thin-skinned and, underneath the bravado, insecure. He frequently whines about being "misunderstood" by dolts and undermined by enemies. While at the United Nations he was always "at the mercy of the editor of the *Times*'s editorial page," a person who "rarely understood me." Another critic, Tom Farer, who tore apart Moynihan's "opposition" article, was "ignorant" and guilty of "misrepresentation." Lest we question Moynihan's credentials, he keeps reminding us what a considerable person he is. As early as 1970, his old boss Nixon realized that "I might make something of the U.N." Make something? Although he failed the English composition part of the foreign service exam as a young man, "I knew I wrote as well as the people who flunked me." An article he wrote for *Commentary* was "taken seriously enough in Moscow to be translated for the Central Committee." Clearly one is in the presence of an important person.

Of all the crosses he had to bear during his service to two Republican administrations, the heaviest was Henry Kissinger. Like some evil doppelgänger, the presence of Kissinger dominates this book, continually taunting and challenging Moynihan. It was Kissinger, of course, who selected Moynihan in 1975 when he wanted someone at the United Nations to take the public's mind off the disaster of Vietnam. His job was to make a lot of noise and, if possible, switch blame for the war from those who had waged it to those who had opposed it. Moynihan indeed served as "Kissinger's Agnew." After eight months, however, the grandstanding became too much, and Kissinger dumped him as a political embarrassment. Resentful of his boss, Moynihan is also envious. Although Kissinger needed only four hours' rest a night and thus had an advantage over sleepier mortals, Moynihan explains, "I was not his inferior and I knew that also." Over it all looms Harvard, the one place where Moynihan could still stand up to Kissinger. But just as Kissinger had to choose the gown or the sword, so did Moynihan. To stay on in the Government meant giving up his chair at Harvard. This meant "I would no longer be an equal. I would have no alternative to the job I held as a gift, or such at least would be his view." Only by going to the Senate did Moynihan survive this deadly bureaucratic threat.

Although continually reminding us of his academic accomplishments and connections, Moynihan shows little of the scholar's regard for facts, logic or consistency. He is like a lawyer who uses innuendo and half-truth to put the best face on his case. For example, he suggests that the great OPEC price hike of 1973 resulted from the "defeat" of Israel by "Soviet weaponry" in the October war. In truth, the Israelis were not defeated; "Soviet weaponry" was of little help to the Egyptians and, if any outside power "won," it was the United States, which gained leverage over both Israel and Egypt. The OPEC hike was made in collusion with the international oil cartel and was stimulated by Western inflation and the rising cost of industrial products; in fact, the hike was instigated by the "free world's" linchpin in the Middle East, Iran. Similarly, with regard to the underdeveloped countries, Moynihan argues that "inequalities in the world may not be so much a matter of conditions as performance." The fact is that many of those countries become poorer even while increasing production, since the industrialized nations, led by the United States, can control the prices of both manufactured goods and most raw materials. Moynihan knows this, but it does not suit his argument to admit it. Instead he blames Third World demands for a new international economic order on envy, "anti-Americanism" and, quixotically, the insidious influence of Fabian Socialism.

To say that Moynihan has no foreign policy does not mean that he lacks a gimmick. At a time when many Americans want to believe that the United States can orchestrate the world if it only tries hard enough, that the American devastation of Vietnam was really in defense of "freedom," that Third World demands for greater economic equality are unjustified and immoral, Moynihan's explanations will have some appeal. His "failure of nerve" litany is not so far from the "stab in the back" theory; it insinuates that changes in the world occur not from forces over which the United States has no control but from a betrayal from within. Its roots are less in Barry Goldwater than in Joe McCarthy. Moynihan is a man of talent and unfulfilled ambition. Skillful at manipulating anxieties, he does not lack support from those groups—right-wing intellectuals, conservative labor unions, the new rich—who have found a powerful echo in the politics of frustration and resentment. □

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Paper Tigers

DAVID VOGEL

THE NEW CLASS? *Edited by B. Bruce-Briggs. Transaction Books. 229 pp. $16.95.*

In sharp contrast to the 1930s, during the last decade the educated upper-middle class has emerged as the mainstay of support for left-liberal politics in the United States. Becoming "class conscious" during the antiwar movement, this self-proclaimed "conscience constituency" entered the electoral arena via the "new politics" and is now actively involved in both the women's and environmental movements. This development was first applauded by writers on the left, most notably David Bazelon in his book, *Power in America: The Politics of the New Class*, as well as by John Kenneth Galbraith and Michael Harrington. They welcomed the growth of a "new class" of "working intellectuals," regarding them somewhat in the same hopeful terms in which Marx viewed the development of the proletariat a century earlier.

In the hands of writers such as Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz, the "new class" has subsequently become the symbol of all that neoconservatives dislike about the direction of American politics and culture. In the pages of *Commentary*, *The Public Interest* and *The Wall Street Journal*, the selfishness and snobbery of its leadership is variously held responsible for almost every shortcoming of contemporary American society, including inflation, economic stagnation, weakening of the party system, proliferation of bureaucratic government, overregulation of business and academia and the general decline of educational and cultural standards.

Given the polemical—if not hysterical—tone of most recent neoconservative writing on this subject, the current collection of original essays edited by B. Bruce-Briggs comes as a pleasant surprise. *Everyone* has a piece, each reflecting his own specialty within the neoconservative division of intellectual labor. Thus, Daniel Bell writes about social structure, Peter Berger discusses modernism, Nathan Glazer explores the legal system, Seymour Martin Lipset surveys professors, Norman Podhoretz examines culture and Aaron Wildavsky analyzes public policy. (The only noticeable omission is Irving Kristol, but since his ideas pervade the entire volume, a contribution by him was probably considered redundant.) While Bruce-Briggs makes no pretensions at presenting a balanced perspective, the volume also includes essays by Kevin Phillips, Andrew Hacker and Michael Harrington.

The principal virtue of this collection is that it both conveniently presents and convincingly refutes the myths about the new class that neoconservatives have themselves fostered. In the most important of these myths, the new class is accused of attempting to increase the power of the state over the society as a whole, particularly the profit sector. Thus, Robert Bartley, editor of *The Wall Street Journal*, describes Ralph Nader's supporters as people "with a class interest in derogating the opposing business class," while Kristol accuses them of engaging "in a class struggle with the business community for status and power." In a similar vein, Jeanne Kirkpatrick argues that "the political temptation of the new class lies in believing that their intelligence and exemplary motives equip them to reorder the institutions, the lives and even the characters of almost everyone."

But Everett Ladd's analysis of public opinion shows that support for new class values is by no means confined to those whose income derives from nonmarket sources. He writes: "the distinction between the 'profit' and 'nonprofit' sectors yields nothing." On the contrary, his data reveal that individuals employed by profit-seeking institutions are even more liberal on cultural issues than their nonprofit sector counterparts. It is education that is the overriding factor in accounting for liberal attitudes on both cultural and economic matters, not occupation or institutional affiliation.

It is true that the most politically articulate members of the new class—its vanguard, if you will—are likely to be found in the regulatory bureaucracies, on the staffs of foundations and public interest organizations, and in the social science departments of major universities. But to view them as plotting to increase their own power at the expense of

David Vogel, author of Lobbying the Corporation *(Basic Books), teaches at the University of California, Berkeley.*

KURT VONNEGUT

His new novel is a stunning vision of America—the saga of Walter F. Starbuck, who, at the rueful age of 66, looks back at his past life as Harvard man, ex-communist, New Deal bureaucrat, congressional committee finger man (á là Whittaker Chambers), Watergate conspirator and lover of four women. Revealing everything from the secret of the world's richest shopping bag lady to the last words of Caryl Chessman, JAILBIRD is "vintage Vonnegut—a delightful and sardonic rumination on the history of our times."—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Jailbird

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corporate managers is difficult to reconcile with the fact that most public support for the recent increases in government regulation of business comes from those employed within the profit sector. In his essay, Hacker argues that it is precisely this lack of strong support for business values among the corporate bureaucracy's own "word workers" that has helped to weaken the public's support for capitalist prerogatives.

Similarly, Kirkpatrick's paranoid vision of a "coercive elite" that has succumbed to the "totalitarian temptation" is convincingly refuted by Podhoretz and Bell, both of whom demonstrate that a defining feature of the new class is its strong opposition to any form of public or even private control over individual life style or morals. The self-indulgence and moral myopia of our overeducated upper-middle class may be mindless, but it is not authoritarian. In his discussion of the politics of public interest lawyers, Glazer concludes that far from being statist, the public interest movement is ambivalent about government: it supports increased legal controls over business yet is highly suspicious of all regulatory agencies. Moreover, it strongly opposes all restrictions on noneconomic freedoms. As Bruce-Briggs observes in his entertaining concluding essay, "We have had an enormous expansion of government regulation of doing and a diminution of regulation of wording." He correctly concludes that "the ideal New Class organization setting is not government but the nonprofit private sector."

There remains, however, one criticism of the new class that deserves to be taken seriously. This is Aaron Wildavsky's argument that many of the public policies favored by the relatively privileged are not at all "public spirited" but rather are designed to enhance or preserve their own economic status. Without doubt, the highly educated have substantially benefited from the vast employment opportunities created by government expenditures for social welfare, education and various regulatory activities. In addition, many of the benefits of environmental protection have gone to those who already live on wooded hillsides or who make frequent use of remote recreational areas. But whether or not their support for particular public policies is primarily motivated by pecuniary considerations is irrelevant. It would be just as inappropriate for me to impugn the motives of the contributors to this volume because they were reportedly paid sometimes as much as $4,000 each for their essays by a family foundation—a fact which is nowhere acknowledged in this book.

What ought to be at issue is not motive but impact. And here critics of regulations inspired by the new class do have a valid point: many of the costs of public policies designed to protect the "public" have fallen disproportionately on the less affluent. Most fundamentally, segments of the upper-middle class intelligentsia have become somewhat smug in their attitudes toward economic growth. Relatively unaffected by the vagaries of the business cycle, many appear to have forgotten the extent to which the welfare of the vast majority of America remains directly dependent upon the level of prosperity of the profit sector. Our "Porsche populists" would do well to become more sensitive to some of the economic effects of the government controls over the economy for which they are so enthusiastic.

Although Bruce-Briggs ends his title with a question mark, the essays in this volume make it clear that there is a definable social stratum in American society—consisting largely of highly educated, relatively affluent individuals who work with ideas or symbols—which is both more permissive on cultural issues than the traditional working class and more liberal on economic issues than the upper class. But this new class is neither as virtuous as its early supporters argued nor as destructive as many of its contemporary critics suggest. Contrary to the hopes of the former and the fears of the latter, it is hardly likely to transform the institutional structure of American capitalism. Indeed, as this volume itself indicates, many of the most articulate and influential of this class are now the supporters, rather than the critics, of the social order. □

COMING SOON

Barbara Harrison diagnoses Joan Didion's appeal and Richard Gilman casts a cold eye on the phenomenon of *The World According to Garp.*

Notorious

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

THE UNDESIRABLE JOURNALIST. *By Günter Wallraff. The Overlook Press. 180 pp. $10.*

To say that Günter Wallraff had chutzpah might seem slightly inappropriate. To say that he had developed a new type of investigative journalism would be no less than the truth. To say that he had used this method to challenge the conformist society of West Germany would be to pay him the compliment he really seeks, and has really earned. He has become to German journalism what his friend Heinrich Böll has become to German letters—a jagged, uncomfortable presence, full of awkward reminders of the past and strange premonitions about the future.

His method is as spiky and subversive as his outlook. What he does, very simply, is to use the stratified and docile element in German life against itself; to convert that inert strength into a weakness. He impersonates the witch-hunting journalist, the right-wing bagman, the security adviser who bends the rules, the police informer with the itchy palm, and manipulates the deference of that world into betraying itself. Then, armed always with meticulous tapes and confirmations, he calls another of his beautifully timed press conferences and blows the gaff. In a key sentence in his book, where he justifies this method of deceit and confidence tricks, he says of a hierarchy he infiltrated that "As with dictatorships, the uniform only allows access." Thus, those who protest the loudest at his abuse of their confidence only betray the fashion in which they will respond to any bullying voice on the telephone, or any appeal to "loyalty" from a person with a shred of assumed authority.

Wallraff is a good hater. He really has it in for the German right, for the men who sweat immigrant labor, for the overweening security services and for the mass-circulation demagogic press. Of the last he has a detestation so pure it practically sings. Those familiar with West Germany will know of *Bild*, Axel Springer's bilious Redbaiting rag which fills the space between its luric

Christopher Hitchens is the foreign editor of the New Statesman.

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pictures with breathtaking lies about foreigners, the unemployed and the dissident left. Wallraff has developed a sense of mission about this paper. (Anybody wanting to get the flavor of its operations should read Heinrich Böll's novella, *The Lost Honor of Katharina Blum*.)

In this volume of selected Wallraff adventures and penetrations, he confines himself to following *Bild* journalists around and checking their stories. He notices how they pick soft-target victims, and how they exploit racial and sexual paranoia for political ends. In a later volume, not yet published in English, Wallraff actually gets a job on *Bild* and works as a Springer "investigator" for some time, carefully making corroborative tapes and Xeroxes as he goes about his shitty tasks. When his cover is finally blown (ironically by a leftist paper which discovers what he is doing and prints it as a news item), Wallraff wins a lawsuit against *Bild* (which had brought suit against him for impersonation), makes a killing on the "insider" book, and donates all the proceeds to a fund enabling *Bild* victims to sue.

Thus his method. It works just as well when he poses as an emissary from Franz-Josef Strauss, offering guns and money to General Spinola's Portuguese fascist brigades. This chapter of the book, which offers a riveting account of the way in which coup-makers talk when they think they are alone, is an absolute delight. It is also comic, in a dry way, which is more than can be said for every passage in the collection. Wallraff takes himself seriously, and he is always very conscious of the burden of German history. I do not know whether, like many radicals of his generation, he is a Christian. But there is something Christian about his determination to witness and suffer on behalf of others. Years ago, he chained himself to a railing in the center of Athens and gave out anti-junta leaflets before the cops beat him unconscious. Now he prefers to change clothes with the immigrant worker in the brutal piecework system, or to put himself in the firing line of the German security services, or on the hate-list of Germany's paranoid right.

He is too stable and methodical an individual to be accused of simple guilt motivation, but his awareness of the Nazi past is personal and intense. Like Heinrich Böll in *The Clown*, nothing angers him more than someone saying "It's time we forgot all that and got on with the job of making Germany great again." A chapter in this anthology, where he tells the story of a local historian who tried to write the truth about a small town during the Nazi period, is written with much more style and scorn than is his usually workaday prose. But he manages to get retired (and released) war criminals to talk to him, and to incriminate themselves by their special pleading.

Wallraff examines the institutions of the German state, especially those dealing with political invigilation, and finds them to be, in the old phrase, "blind in the right eye," concerned only with radicals and aliens. Nothing particularly surprising about that, unless you recall the number of neo-Nazi gun clubs and synagogue-burners currently operating. As one policeman puts it here, imagining himself talking to a colleague, "Judge for yourself. Who is the [neo-Nazi] N.P.D. bothering? What damage are they causing?" None, to the rulers of German industry or to the political establishment. Wallraff retains the capacity to be shocked by attitudes like

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this. But he is not himself a party man nor, I would guess, a Marxist at all. Efforts made to blacken him (and his old friend Böll and other members of the "47 Group" of writers) with the charge of being Baader-Meinhof sympathizers have failed to stick. Germany may be authoritarian, but if it were a fascist system as the Baader-Meinhof claim, it would be impossible for men like Wallraff to go about saying that the state is not impartial.

What Wallraff does have is a strong sense of *class*—itself a mark of dissent in the supposedly classless Federal Republic. He does much of his work in concert with labor unions, which help him to penetrate factories and businesses, and to carry out his guerrilla realism. Rather than the depraved and apolitical tradition of Baader-Meinhof anarchism, Wallraff belongs to the line of Brecht and of Egon Erwin Kisch: men who combined a popular style with an attachment to literature and a commitment to the common man. His fame among Germans is greater than that of any comparable journalist in any other country, and a nervous establishment still worries about where he will strike next. Anyone who prefers "us" to "them" should read Wallraff and welcome a good German to the family. □

Common Sense

JOHN TIRMAN

THE POLITICS OF ENERGY. *By Barry Commoner. Alfred A. Knopf. 101 pp. $10. Paper $4.95.*

Energy politics seem more murky and exasperating than ever. Volatile Moslems, gas-station lines, bureaucratic bumbling and the mystifying numbers swirling around the oil decontrol scuffle have captured the headlines and determined the parameters of the debate. And there was also the "event" near Harrisburg. All very confusing stuff.

It is with certain relief, then, that we encounter some clear thinking about America's energy future. Beginning with *The Poverty of Power* in 1976, Barry Commoner has emerged as the paladin of plain talk on energy. It is plain talk not only because it is straightforward and easily digested but because he has stripped away many of the peripheral issues that, though temporarily important, tend to divert attention from the critical, long-range issue: the imperative to move as quickly as possible to a renewable resource energy base. And, unlike many energy scenarios, Commoner's offers a step-by-step transition with a compelling realistic analysis.

Before we glimpse the future, however, Commoner presents the most devastating critique of the Carter-Schlesinger energy hoax yet in print. The National Energy Plan, introduced with great fanfare in April 1977 and signed into law—in truncated form—in October 1978, was a disastrous plan for energy and a deceitful political act. Although the N.E.P. was hyped as a conservation measure, Commoner shows that it is profoundly *anti*-conservation. The plan promotes massive use of electricity, the least efficient means for achieving the society's most important use of energy: heat. Under Carter's plan, three-fourths of new energy by 1985 would be provided by doubling the use of coal and nuclear power to generate electricity. Not only does that ask the impossible of two beleaguered industries, it also creates intense economic stress by wasting investment dollars and allocating supplies unfairly. The higher prices for oil and gas subsequently requested by the President also reinforce social inequities while making only marginal gains in conservation. The environmental burden from stepped-up coal and nuke activity is equally obvious.

Commoner also reveals a long, complicated trail of deceitful internal memorandums from Carter's aides as they hastily assembled the plan and coordinated the statistics to conform to their goals. The N.E.P. staff intentionally violated the methodology used to calculate future supply and demand in order to widen the gap between the two, thereby creating a deceptively promising case for their plan. Given the bankruptcy of the Administration's program and the mendacity of its method, it is instructive to recall Carter's challenge to have his Presidency judged by his record on energy policy.

Whatever the manifold sins of the Carter plan—and the book is fierce in delineating those transgressions—Commoner is at his best in describing the deeper crisis of energy and the possible solutions at hand. For, at root, the energy crisis rests on the fact that we are using nonrenewable resources that must constantly escalate in price and are subject to the whims of the vast economic forces that control them. The recognition that we must move to a renewable resource leads us to the choice between the two opposing technologies available: solar (including wind, conservation and biomass) and nuclear breeder reactors. For a broad range of reasons, Commoner contends that the choice is clear:

> One, solar energy, which has been held back by official neglect, is an old technology ready to cross the threshold of economic viability. The other, nuclear power, which has been heavily supported by public and private funds, is a new technology that—if it survives its troubled infancy—seems already to have lapsed into economic senility. If the present state of the energy problem is intolerable, its future seems uncertain. Yet, somehow, we must negotiate the historic passage between them.

That "historic passage," the solar transition, has been the sticking point for solar enthusiasts for years. Though solar technologies are proven, the problems of financing and deployment are critical in arguing the solar case. So, too, is locating a transition fuel, one that can sustain vigorous economic activity and bridge the span from our cur-

John Tirman is writing a book on energy technology and the political process.

IT COULD START THIS WAY

In the high north
where the planet flattens,
people can't bury their dead
until spring. When lucky,
they pound boxes around them.
In a bad year, no wood.
The loved ones lie
scattered on the tundra
like accident victims,
waiting for moss to give way,
the peat to soften.
In the Anchorage Museum
of Art, under the dark brown
blown-up photograph, you read,
"We do not sleep
in such a winter. We think long nights
about their faces, about wind
lifting blankets of caribou."

Kathy Callaway

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rent energy mix to an all-solar future some fifty years hence.

Commoner has two candidates for transitional fuel: methane and cogeneration. Though the extent of natural gas reserves is much in dispute, he maintains that with proper development, conservation and local production from agricultural and urban waste, methane (natural gas)—a clean, efficient fuel—can bridge the transition gap. Dispersed cogenerators, which produce electricity from waste heat, can simultaneously provide the electricity necessary until solar electrical cells (photovoltaics) are economically attractive.

Aside from his blast at Carter and Schlesinger, the most crucial political aspect of *The Politics of Energy* is Commoner's refreshing realism about the nature of the transition task. Moving to a solar-based society directly challenges the most powerful economic forces in the world—the oil companies and the electric utilities—who have much to gain from a breeder-based future. Commoner correctly assails the myth of the free market—that by allowing giant corporations to pursue their own interests, society will benefit—and forcefully makes the case for selective government intervention. To spur the development of a plural, decentralized system, for example, Commoner suggests an immediate Federal purchase of $500 million of photovoltaics, which would bring the cost down to levels competitive with utility rates. Such a program does not fit well with the convenient market theories of the energy corporations but nonetheless would immediately benefit everyone.

Commoner has thus laid out the political problem of the solar transition. "The conflict," he says, "between social justice and the private governance of the economic system is the root problem not only of utility costs but also of the energy crisis itself." Social governance means public agencies making decisions based not only on "the immediate cost effectiveness or its profitability to the producer, but more crucially, on its *social* value in fostering an effective overall solar transition." That means planning, public participation, occasional government funding—all decidedly nonmarket devices to provide energy stability.

We need more detail about the shape of the public bodies designing the solar future: Commoner's comments here are much too brief, and too sanguine about an effective, smooth disbursement of government authority. But that is a minor point. He has given us a most hopeful and hard-nosed analysis that by its clarity and prudence has enriched and advanced the solar case. □

MUSIC

DAVID HAMILTON

Among the past season's records, the most frequent repeater was Robert Schumann's Piano Concerto, offered by four considerable pianists: Horacio Gutiérrez, Martha Argerich, Vladimir Ashkenazy and Sviatoslav Richter (the last a reissue, first recorded some twenty years ago). The results are hardly as consistent as the names suggest; though brand names may be a useful guide to the quality of mass-produced goods (e.g., the physical disks themselves), they can be no guarantee for handcrafted products (the actual performances that the disks enshrine). Ashkenazy, with the London Symphony conducted by Uri Segal (London CS 7082, $8.98), plays with a surprising excess of phrase articulation, a lumbering agogic stress that turns Schumann's lift into ponderosity. Argerich's playing is more various, impulsive and appropriate; she is, alas, hampered by two inferior instruments: a piano sometimes out of tune and an orchestra of second rank (Washington's National Symphony, conducted by Mstislav Rostropovich; Deutsche Grammophon 2531 042, $8.98).

After this, the work of Gutiérrez, youngest of the four, comes as refreshment: straightforwardly musical, the tone warm, full and finely weighted, the exchange between soloist and orchestra fluent and gracious (with the London Philharmonic, Klaus Tennstedt conducting; Angel 37510, $7.98). The sensitivity already evident in Gutiérrez's showier first recording (the Liszt E flat and Tchaikovsky B flat minor concertos, on Angel 37177) is admirably matched to Tennstedt's strong grasp of the concerto's long line.

Less richly supported and registered, Richter's account offers still greater directness and clarity of articulation (with the National Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of Warsaw, Witold Rowicki conducting; Deutsche Grammophon Privilege 2535 181, $6.98). Both Ashkenazy and Richter couple the concerto with other works of Schumann; Ashkenazy offers two later concerted works, Richter the earlier (and stronger) of those plus two solo works, all magisterially played. Argerich's verso presents Chopin's F minor Concerto,

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in which the deficiencies of the accompanying orchestra are less troublesome. The "traditional" disk-mate of the Schumann concerto, in memorable (and still available) versions by Lipatti, Solomon and Fleisher, is Grieg's more obvious work in the same key, and that is also Gutiérrez's coupling—a large-scale performance that manages to avoid the usual hazard of bombast, carefully refraining from an overestimation of the piece's rhetorical potential. I enjoyed this disk very much, and am pleased to confirm the recent upswing of quality in Angel's mastering and pressing.

A famous interpreter of the Grieg concerto was Percy Grainger (1882-1961), pianist, composer and folklorist; he studied the piece with Grieg himself in 1907, but never had the chance to make a studio recording. I'm full of admiration for the skill of Denis Condon and Peter Phillips, who have prepared Grainger's piano rolls of the concerto, and of John Hopkins, who cajoled the Sydney Symphony Orchestra into following Grainger's mannerisms to record a modern accompaniment to the rolls (RCA Red Seal ARL1-3059, $7.98). The fruit of their labors, though in some sense "true," is also improbable, quite aside from conventional questions of the credibility of piano rolls as transmitters of musical performances. Grainger recorded this performance as a piano solo, filling in the orchestral part at the keyboard (the latter portions have been blotted out by Condon and Phillips for the modern recording)—and he played it with a degree of license that might have been tolerable, even appropriate, in a solo piano performance (especially in 1919), but in which he would have hardly indulged had he been playing with an orchestra. On the verso of this disk are inflated arrangements of some of Grainger's popular piano pieces (*Country Gardens, Shepherd's Hey,* and the like) conducted by Leopold Stokowski. I should have been tempted to ascribe the arrangements to the conductor, but they are credited to the composer—which doesn't make them any the less bloated.

The casual assignment of Max Bruch's popular Violin Concerto in G minor to the same general pigeonhole as the concertos of Vieuxtemps and Wieniawski should, I am convinced, be resisted. Instead of aspiring to the heights of the Beethoven Violin Concerto (only Brahms dared that—and succeeded), Bruch's work successfully occupies a territory in the general vicinity of Mendelssohn's celebrated work, without imitating that incomparable score in either structure or character. After the instant success of the G minor Concerto, Bruch was wise enough to vary the formula somewhat, but his second concerto, in D minor, veers unsatisfactorily between imitation and avoidance of its predecessor, despite much attractive writing for the solo instrument. Both concertos have been recorded by Salvatore Accardo with the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra conducted by Kurt Masur (Philips 955 422, $8.98). The playing is more incisive than charming, though surely preferable to the recording of the first concerto by Pinchas Zukerman and the Los Angeles Philharmonic conducted by Zubin Mehta (Columbia M 35132, $7.98)—coupled with a grim account of a piece even more dependent on freshness of manner, Lalo's *Symphonie espagnole.*

On a companion disk (Philips 9500 423; $8.98), Accardo and Masur present two other concerted works by Bruch: The brilliant *Scottish Fantasy,* using folk melodies and a more open structure, is another success, while the late *Konzertstück,* Op. 84 (here recorded for the first time), leaves a sense of incompletion after its second and final movement. Accardo plays with great panache. If you should wish only the two best among these pieces, an excellent coupling by Kyung-Wha Chung (London CS 6795, $8.98) is even more sensitively played. □

ARCHITECTURE

JANE HOLTZ KAY

Thoreau was a builder, and so are Levitt and Sons, a beaver, a child with blocks and Uncle Sam. Of all these, the last is the least known—or was so until cries of scandal emerged from those who oversee the Government's chief builders, the General Services Administration. Despite the fact that this, the nation's major landlord, employs 136,000 people to dispense its $5 billion a year in design projects, the impact of the still larger Government planning policy remains largely unseen, unstudied and unrecorded. Who has scanned the gas lines to discover their urban design origins in the Federal mortgages and Federal highways that sent Americans skidding out to the suburbs? Who has tallied up the military's architectural budget—the small change of which, a scant $40 million, went to furnish the National Air and Space Museum?

One welcomes, then, a study that points out that: "Governmental strings attached to subsidized building projects have dictated the design of two-thirds of this nation's health-care facilities, one-fourth of its schools and virtually all of its housing." These words from architect William N. Lacy, former director of the Architectural and Environmental Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts, introduce *The Federal Presence* (by Lois Craig and the staff of the Federal Architecture Project, M.I.T. Press, 580 pp., $37.50) and underscore the need for just the kind of reckoning it provides. Indeed, as Lacy goes on, "Uncle Sam's real estate holdings have become so expansive in the years since 1949—when most civilian Federal building programs were consolidated under the General Services Administration—that the innocent sojourner might wander the Republic's length and breadth without ever crossing an environmental web created by federally commissioned architects and engineers."

This work compresses the history of the ways in which architecture and the environment have felt the Federal presence. That presence is not always as striking as the much-publicized image of the Three Mile Island plant, but the U.S. land policy that it reflects (in that dread case, the will to "irreversibly commit" land use to a time far beyond the human scope) is typical of the implications laid bare here.

The hefty volume prepared by the Federal Architecture Project under Lois Craig shows how Government has stamped its imprint from the first—whether plotting the infant continent along the grid in 640-acre sections, designing the national capital in the Roman mode, or laying railroad tracks across the continent. It is an impressively dense word-and-picture record of how Washington, D.C., swaddled the infant Republic in federally symbolic architecture and of how the growing Government on the Potomac both conditioned and reflected the larger country. If cumber-

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An Interview with a 114-Year-Old Magazine

Ladies and gentlemen, we are fortunate in having with us a 114-year-old magazine—THE NATION. How do you feel, sir?

Well, I feel better than the old *Saturday Evening Post.* Ben, I used to call him—you know, after Ben Franklin. . .

You knew the old *Post*?

Sure, I knew all the big ones. *McClure's.* Always muck, muck, muck, *Liberty.* Nice fellow, *Liberty.* "This article will take you 3 minutes, 45 seconds to read," he'd say, and we'd both laugh.

How about the newer magazines? Do you know them?

Oh sure. I remember *Politicks.* Poor fellow, died young. And *Viva*—never could make up his/her mind. Then there was *New Times*—he's gone too. Had a weak heart—took up *Running.* One thing I can't stand is this new trend to celebrity journalism—all those personality articles.

What's the matter, don't you like people?

No, I don't like *People.*

Some of those old magazines have been revived—*Life*, *Look*, even *The Saturday Evening Post.*

Yeah, they went to Switzerland and had those operations. They're nice—cute, but not the same.

To what do you attribute your long life?

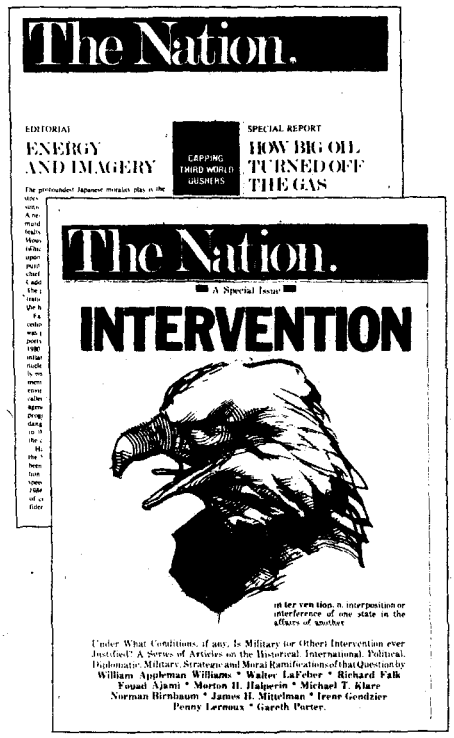
Reading. Exercising my mind. I get a lot of good wholesome fresh opinions and nourishing non-doctrinaire radical and liberal politics. Four or five tough articles every week, plus some good hardball editorials that give my conscience a daily workout. Then I top it off with an intellectual cold shower of invigorating reviews of books, plays, art, music, dance, architecture, television, the media.

What have you learned in your 114 years?

One thing I've learned is, never trust a politician who says he'll never lie to you.

That's good advice.

Don't take my word for it. Read THE NATION and think for yourself. In fact, send in the attached coupon that my insistent publisher includes with all my interviews.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some for the proverbial light read, the book is an enlightening though chaotic architectural travelogue.

Those who look to architecture for lessons on American social institutions will find the physical roots of the burgeoning bureaucracy here: American bigness began with the State, War and Navy Building in 1871, this study notes; Chicago, the swamp that became the city with the "world's busiest street corner," was the result of a Federal transportation decision, and so on. You can see the physical impact of policies from parks to highways, from preservation to prisons.

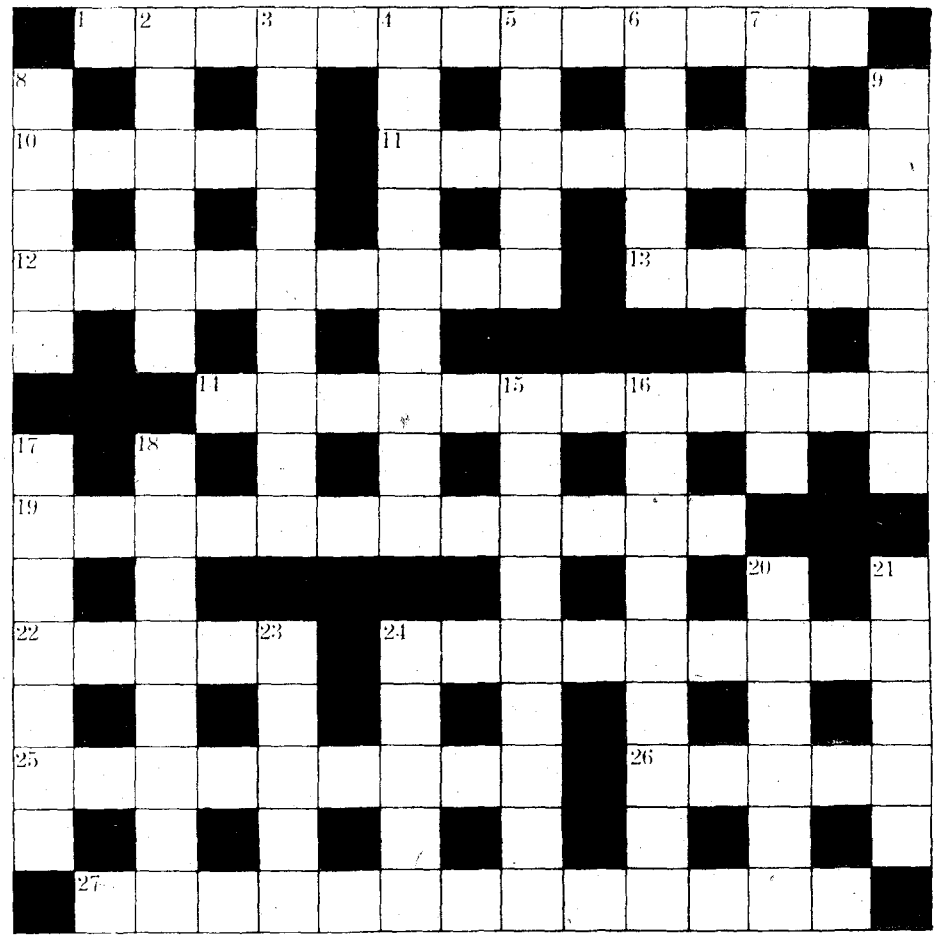
At times, the book becomes episodic and the tales are as anecdotal as those from a diary. A single page that quotes Andrew Jackson Downing (1847), Patrick Geddes (1904), and Norman Mailer is representative in its sacrifice of clarity for comprehensiveness. And yet, from the drawing of Indians worshipping at a shrine to the photograph of the long cold corridors picturing Any Bureaucracy, U.S.A., this is an invaluable source work. Anyone who dabbles in government building, design or even politics, scanning its pages, topic headings, outlines and summaries, will find that the book reeks of current predicaments.

Benjamin Latrobe, the first architect of Washington, D.C., wrote in his farewell letter of 1813 that he was bidding "an eternal adieu to the malice, backbiting, and slander, trickery, fraud, and hypocrisy, loss of pretension, scanty means, boasts of patriotism, and bargaining of conscience, pretense of religion and breach of her laws, starving doctors, thriving attorneys, whitewashing jail oaths, upstart haughtiness and depressed merit, and 5,000 other nuisances that constitute the very essence of this community. . . . The more you stir it, the more it stinketh. And, in general, honest and right intentioned as is our cold-blooded president [Madison], you might as well strike an armadillo with a feather by way of making the animal feel, as to move him by words from any of his opinions or purposes. . . . "

Thick-skinned or not, Presidents and politicians ever since have determined large slices of our surroundings, and the virtual catalogue of architectural projects in *The Federal Presence* provides a clear view of how far and to what effect the shadow of the eagle's wings has spread. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1788

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A place for 10 to be out of grace temporarily. (2,3,8)
10 A good name for a sea-dog? (5)
11 Reputedly heavenly products. (9)
12 Strictly speaking, not a logical name for those attending the old silent movies. (9)
13 Pierce the playwright had to brandish this with an E. (5)
14 Not against the First Lady getting support for the House, as time goes on. (7,5)
19 Avril of song. (5,2,5)
22 Mayhap a vessel covers the way inside it. (5)
24 The life of Disney? (9)
25 The oaf around an outhouse struck back rather wildly. (6,3)
26 To which a well-known literary passage referred. (5)
27 Not quite be off with a rousing "hip! hip!" —it's a heartening statement. (2,2,4,5)

DOWN

2 State quarters with the Old Dominion prosecuter. (6)
3 See 8 down
4 The kind of sword that's a barrier to nothing unstained. (9)
5 Misses the initials of a soldier-poet? (5)
6 You can see leaves out here from it sometimes. (5)
7 Hints. (8)
8 and 3 down Big Bird? Not really—perhaps a wise one would be carrying a tuba. (5,6,3)
9 One could never say they don't take an interest in their business. (7)
15 Skinny, perhaps, came up with one unusual date. (9)
16 Has mail in such beastly disorder! (9)
17 How they live in fairy-tale 11, along with 14. (7)
18 The pattern of scarves coming to a point? One shouldn't fall in with it. (8)
20 Go clear around—it's just a put-on for some women. (6)
21 What people wearing some rubber soles reputedly do. (5)
23 One way to make a bundle at the stadium on the fight's start. (5)
24 From the beginning, Latin should be above zero, without a bad grade. (2,3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1787

ACROSS: 1 Omar Khayyam; 9 Signpost; 10 Laid up; 11 Kinetic; 14 Inform; 15 Mess hall; 17 Aviators; 20 Palace; 22 Prepare; 24 Infancy; 26 and 12 Next to nothing; 27 Episodes; 28 Pocketknife. DOWN 2 Minnesota; 3 Rhodium; 4 Hath; 5 Yellows; 6 Amish; 8 and 7 Tunnel vision; 13 Amiss; 16 Half-a-loaf; 18 Verses; 19 Oarlock; 20 Pension; 21 Cocked; 23 Potto; 25 Tent.

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Anti-Nuclear Rally

On May 6th more than 100,000 anti-nuclear activists marched to Washington to give Congress and the President the message—***NO MORE HARRISBURGS!*** President Carter's response has been to call for an expansion of nuclear power.

We Need to Send Another Message

On September 23rd an even larger number of nuclear opponents will gather in New York City to deliver a new, more precise message: ***Phase Out*** and ***Shut Down*** all operating reactors, halt new plant licensing and stop wasting money on the breeder reactor. Prior to the Rally, the September 23rd Committee will deliver to the President and present to the public a measured phase-out plan.

Join Ralph Nader, Barry Commoner, John Gofman, Bella Abzug, Valerie Pope, John Trudell and other anti-nuclear speakers and musicians such as Jackson Browne, Bonnie Raitt. Graham Nash, John Hall, Peter Tosh, Gil Scott Heron and others to rally against nuclear power on...***September 23rd in New York City.***

Sept. 23, 1979 - New York City

Sunday • 11 am • Battery Park City*

Please send contributions to help us stage the largest anti-nuclear Rally in the United States. Send donations to: ***September 23rd Rally; 309 East 9th St.; New York, N.Y. 10003.***

**Volunteers are needed to help organize the Rally and to serve as monitors on September 23rd. Drop by the Rally Office or call (212) 673-7900 to volunteer or to get advertising leaflets and posters.*

* West of the World Trade Center in Manhattan

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